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HE WAS FORCED INTO ACTION

Eisenhower scored for his stalling in Little Rock violence

A DEFIANT GOVERNOR, a hysterical mob, and a day of rioting in Little Rock, Ark., finally forced the President of the United States on Sept. 23 to assert his authority to "use the full power of the United States, including whatever force may be necessary to prevent any obstruction of the law and to carry out the orders of the Federal court."

The President signed a proclamation entitled "Obstruction of Justice in the State of Arkansas" at 6:23 p.m., many hours after a violent mob had succeeded in forcing nine Negro students out of Little Rock's Central High School. The six boys and three girls had entered the school in the morning under a Federal court order, but by noon the mob of about 1,000 white supremacists had gotten so out of hand that Mayor Woodrow Wilson Mann ordered the Negro students' withdrawal.

NO TROUBLE INSIDE: Mrs. L. C. Bates, president of the Arkansas branch of the Natl. Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, would not predict when the Negro students might try to return to their classes, but said "a little more assurance" of their safety and protection was needed. Under the President's proclamation, Federal troops can be used to halt mob violence. On Sept. 24 the President ordered Federalization of the Arkansas National Guard and Air Guard.

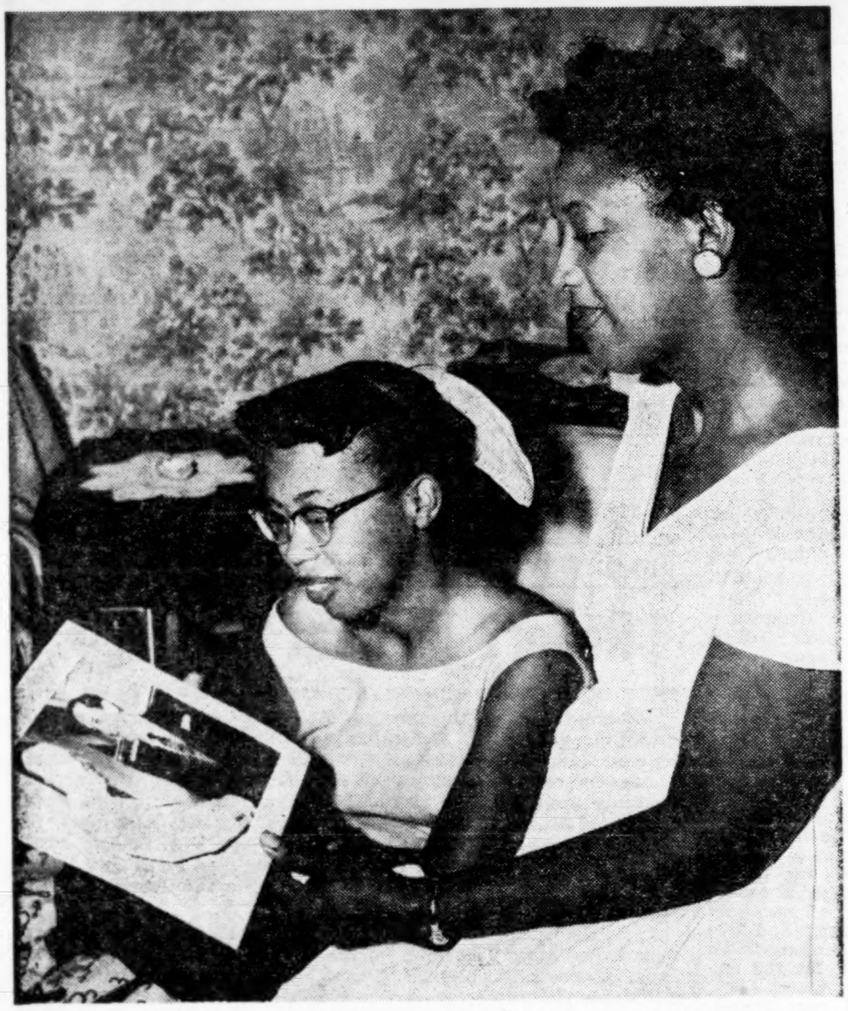
None of the nine Negro students was injured; they reported no trouble once they were inside the school and seemed surprised when ordered to leave around noon. But there was plenty of trouble on the streets outside the school and an unknown number of persons were roughed up as the mob hysteria mounted. At least four Negro newsmen were beaten, and at one point the crowd turned on white "Yankee" reporters and photographers. Twenty-four persons were arrested during the day. Mayor Mann blamed the rioting on "professional agitators" and said the action had been planned and organized.

IT BEGAN WITH FAUBUS: Eighty city policemen, augmented by 50 State Troopers, coped with the violent crowd. Sporadic fighting continued in Little Rock well into the night and there was some apprehension that a full-scale race riot might break out in the city of 117,000, 25% of whom are Negroes.

The trouble in Little Rock began on Sept. 2 when Gov. Orval E. Faubus stationed 270 armed National Guardsmen at the school to prevent the nine Negro pupils from entering. The troops remained on duty until Sept. 20, when Federal District Judge Roland N. Davies issued an injunction barring further use of the National Guard to defy Federal court orders. Said the judge:

"It is very clear to this court from the evidence and testimony that the plan of integration adopted by the Little Rock School Board and approved by this court and the court of appeals has been thwarted by the Governor of Arkansas by the

(Continued on Page 8)



THERE WAS SOMETHING GRUESOMELY FUNNY ABOUT THE PHOTO
Thelma Mothershed (l) and her mother, Mrs. A. L. Mothershed, smile as they look at a picture of President Eisenhower and Arkansas Gov. Faubus shaking hands. Thelma was one of the nine students who entered Central High briefly on September 23 before the new violence.

UNITED NATIONS

U.S.-Soviet debate on arms and Mideast spark opening

By Kumar Goshal

DEBATE in the United Nation's 12th General Assembly session began with the big guns in action. Dulles on Sept. 19 led off with a long series of accusations against the Soviet Union. Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko replied. His calm retort, most delegates felt, blunted the sharpness of the Dulles charges.

The U.S.-Soviet speeches came soon after the Assembly opened on Sept. 17. The delegates unanimously welcomed Malaya as the UN's 82nd member, and with near unanimity elected Australia's Sir Leslie Munro as the Assembly's president. Behind the scenes, however, a bitter conflict had raged until the last minute over the election of a president.

Munro, the choice of the Western powers, was opposed by Lebanon's Foreign Minister Charles Malik, supported by the Asian-African group. The two candidates had been running neck and neck until Malik dramatically withdrew. It was later disclosed that Malik had exacted a price: a guarantee of Western support for his candidacy next year.

LITTLE TALK OF PEACE: Dulles in his speech bore down heavily on the Middle East. He touched only lightly on disarmament, a subject which Munro in his acceptance speech noted as the most important issue before the Assembly. Many Westerners thought Dulles was deliberately trying to draw attention from disarmament because, in their opinion, a majority of Assembly members at the moment would favor an unconditional ban on nuclear weapons tests.

"RISKY BUSINESS": Dulles said that Moscow failed to seize Western Europe in 1949 because of the Mashall Plan. Despite its support of "the Communist revolution in China, the war in Korea and the war in Indo-China," Moscow failed to take over Southeast Asia because of

(Continued on Page 9)

LABOR — WHILE THE LEADERS ARGUE RESPECTABILITY . . .

Battle for shorter work week shapes up

By Lawrence Emery

WHILE TOP LEADERS of the merged labor movement were preoccupied last week with their respectability, other trade unionists were getting set for labor's next great battle: a shorter work week with higher pay to cope with an automated, atom-powered world.

The AFL-CIO Ethical Practices Committee in New York on Sept. 18 issued a report, based on a Senate probe, charging vice-president James R. Hoffa of the Intl. Brotherhood of Teamsters with having "associated with, sponsored and promoted the interests of notorious labor racketeers." Chairman John L. McClellan of the Senate labor investigating committee applauded the AFL-CIO action and added a new charge that Hoffa "committed flagrant, willful and contemptible perjury" in his appearance before the committee last month. He said he has asked the Dept. of Justice to act on the perjury charge.

CONVENTION SEPT. 30: Hoffa was "invited" to appear again before the committee when it resumed its hearings on Sept. 24. On the same day the AFL-CIO executive council was scheduled to issue a formal "clean up or get out" order to the Teamsters, with a possible deadline of from 30 to 90 days.

These moves came on the eve of the Teamsters' convention opening in Miami Beach on Sept. 30. They constituted, in effect, an ultimatum to the convention delegates that if they elected Hoffa to head the union, as seemed likely, the Teamsters would be suspended and eventually expelled from the AFL-CIO.

First reaction of the Teamsters' executive board, in a pre-convention meeting, was to defy any interference with what it considered its autonomous rights. Hoffa himself announced that he would not step out of the race for the presidency. He said: "It will be up to our convention, after analyzing the [AFL-CIO] report and the comments on it, to make the decision who is going to be the union's president and what constitution the union is going to operate under. I will be bound by their decision. But one thing is sure, I will definitely be a candidate."

The union's executive board rejected the AFL-CIO charges and said none of its members would appear at the Sept. 24 meeting of the executive council.

LABOR'S CIVIL WAR? Hoffa was op-

(Continued on Page 9)

In this issue

YOUNG DELINQUENTS
A test in New York . . p. 3
HOW NEGROES FEEL
Ike and Little Rock . . p. 5
GERMAN "WONDERLAND"
Fear in E. Europe . . . . p. 7
PRISONERS IN CHINA
Americans see them . . p. 8
CHAPLIN'S NEW FILM
'A King in New York' . p. 10

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REPORT TO READERS

Robert Rich at Carnegie

THE EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES Committee's campaign to abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee has already drawn blood, it seems. A shouting picket line bearing professionally-lettered signs saying "Traitors," "Murderers" and, of course, "Communists" greeted more than 2,000 New Yorkers attending a Carnegie Hall meeting Sept. 20 to kick off the campaign. The picketers were self-exiled Hungarian "Freedom Fighters" for the most part, reportedly made available for such work by the U. S. Central Intelligence Agency as a means of earning their keep hereabouts. They picket regularly at the United Nations with the same signs, aimed at the U.S.S.R.

Later the "abolition" meeting was stink-bombed (an ECLC spokesman called them "smelling bombs") but nobody left and Dalton Trumbo, one of the evening's speakers, turned the other cheek with a few words about how appropriate it is, and fully within the meaning of the First Amendment, that visitors to our land should feel free to demonstrate, carry defamatory picket signs and even get paid for it. Trumbo spoke so clearly that there is no reason to believe his tongue was in the other cheek. He did add, however, that the stink-bomb throwing was a mark of the "intellectual level" of the protesters.

The meeting was held on a balmy, end-of-summer evening when people could have been strolling in the parks, taking off for a last summer week-end or any number of alternate pursuits; hence it must be concluded that they came out of deep interest and the conviction that the time is at hand to put an end to Congressional witch-hunting.

THE SPEAKERS included Harvey O'Connor, ECLC chairman; attorney Lewis L. Redding of Wilmington, Del., one of the originators of the school segregation suits which brought about the Supreme Court's 1954 desegregation decision; Prof. H. H. Wilson of Princeton; Frank Wilkinson of Los Angeles, veteran opponent of the Walter committee and its predecessors on the West Coast; and Trumbo. Redding served as chairman of the meeting. Wilkinson outlined the ECLC's program for its abolition campaign (GUARDIAN 9/23).

Prof. Wilson gave the meeting quite a talking-to on the matter of leaving the civil liberties fight to the courts. He pointed out that with all the repression, the people of our fair land have a vastly greater reservoir of rights and liberties than they ever bother to use, and called for political action. That brought down the house. He also outlined a thorough-going program for reining in the FBI, which calls for putting FBI agents under civil service, placing a 5-year limit on the job J. Edgar Hoover has held for nearly 40 years, and proposing a commission to inquire into and reform the procedures of the FBI. (Excerpts from Prof. Wilson's address will be printed in a subsequent issue of the GUARDIAN).

DALTON TRUMBO neither confirmed nor denied that he was the mysterious "Robert Rich" who won last year's Hollywood Oscar for screenwriting, but rather presented Robert Rich as a sort of miscellaneous man, a composite victim of the blacklist initiated by the House Un-American Activities Committee 10 years ago and now depriving thousands of jobs in their fields. We hope to obtain Trumbo's scholarly and incisive text for a forthcoming GUARDIAN too.

Trumbo also handled the collection of funds at the meeting. He seemed at first to be approaching the task in a most unorthodox way—announcing $5 contributions along with $100 ones with an abandon which must have sent chills down the spines of any professional fund-raisers in the audience. But shortly the method in his madness became clear. A contribution came up from one Robert Rich. Soon another came, from Robert Rich, M.D.; then another from the Rev. Robert Rich. From then on it was a landslide—Robert Rich, merchant seaman; Robert Rich, newspaperman; Robert Rich, steelworker, and so on throughout one of the most enjoyed and healthiest collections taken up for a good cause in a month of Sundays.

We listened very attentively, having in mind Trumbo's earlier indulgence for the pickets of the evening, but no contribution appeared from Robert Rich, "Freedom Fighter." Apparently not even Trumbo could create that miscellaneous a man. —**THE GUARDIAN**

THE MAIL BAG

Steve Nelson's case

PITTSBURGH, PA.

The dropping of further proceedings in the Pittsburgh Smith Act Case against myself and my friends, James Dolsen, Ben Careathers, Andrew Onda, William Albertson and Irving Weissman, ends a long period of vicious political persecutions and witch-hunts, which reached their height in 1953 when Dolsen and I were under 25-year sentences under the State Sedition and Smith Act convictions.

These Pittsburgh trials were notorious for their unfairness and for the unscrupulous use made of them by hack politicians to feather their political nests. Disreputable stool-pigeons and paid informers were the main instruments through which these convictions were obtained. These informers made a racket of testifying against people like myself; they became over-night "heroes" while they lined their pockets with cash at their victims' expense. I hope the day of these witch-hunt trials has ended and the stench left by them, and the swamp in which they were bred, McCarthyism and Musmannoism, will vanish from our midst for good.

The legal gains were won through a many-sided struggle. It was a long and bitterly-fought fight participated in not only by the victims themselves but also by many who did not share their views. Judge Marsh's ruling on Sept. 13 to end this trial is the logical climax to a case which should never have been brought to trial.

Our country's deep democratic traditions were vindicated in this long struggle. It is a victory in the broadest sense for all democratic forces of labor, the Negro people, for the foreign-born and all democratically-minded Americans. It brings great relief to my family and to my friends.

I want to express my thanks to the readers and supporters of the GUARDIAN who supported us throughout this fight.

Steve Nelson

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

Sterling Silver YO-YO for that friend who has everything. Engraved with name or monogram, it's $4.95 including tax and postage. Robin House, 330 E. 72nd St., N.Y.C.

N. Y. Herald-Tribune, 9/15

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week R. J., New York, N. Y.

'Nice fellow'

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Albert E. Kahn's critical review of **The FBI Story** is important for pointing out what few Americans realize: that law enforcement officers and crime prevention agencies do not necessarily believe in democracy or the protection of civil liberties. Some years ago, during the Spanish Civil War, I went with a group of teen-agers to apply for a permit to hold a public park meeting in behalf of the Spanish Loyalists. We were given the permit and then I was called in for an audience with the Chief of Police. This kindly-looking gentleman looked up at me and said: "What is a nice fellow like you doing running around with kikes and niggers. You know they are just using you for a front?" By "nice fellow" I knew the Police Chief meant "Protestant, Anglo-Saxon American" and democracy was something special, reserved for the rulers who lived in respectable, restricted neighborhoods, free of Negroes, Jews, and if possible, Catholics.

We will never really get the truth, because, as Kahn points out: everybody, including the White House, is scared to death of the FBI. Can Mr. Hoover be proud of the fact his organization instills fear in the citizens, rather than complete trust?

Name Withheld

Free larceny

ELKVIEW, W. VA.

Under this great democratic freedom "Free Enterprise" the price hi-jackers can charge you $20 for a $3 pair of shoes, the TV repair man can charge you $50 for a $2.50 tube replacement, and so on down the line.

These acts are considered as essential factors to "our way of life" and are looked upon as legitimate business, private initiative, and a lot of other screwball phrases which mean nothing more than freedom to gratify an insatiable urge for larceny.

Curtis L. Morris

Where coyotes howl

OAKLAND, CALIF.

From a letter sent to Lewis Strauss, chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission:

I am writing in the name of a great number of people in the Bay Area who are extremely concerned about the continued testing of nuclear weapons. We are particularly concerned about the "under ground test."

As you know, this part of the country rests upon several large earth faults with an unknown number of fissures. What guarantees can you give us that this blast will not be the cause of serious earthquakes at the time of or subsequent to the blast? [It was detonated Sept. 19.]

Eight hundred feet of earth even with multiple vents is a very small amount of covering for a blast equal to "from 1-10,000 tons of TNT." What guarantee can you give us that the top of the hill will not blow off? What are your plans for monitoring the extremely radioactive fallout which will occur in such an eventuality? What steps will be taken to care for people, stock, crops, and water in such an eventuality?

"The scorched and beaten earth will be made highly radioactive, and will be put off bounds for visitors." (Oakland **Tribune**, Sept. 12) How will this "off bounds" be maintained? What steps will be taken to prevent accidental entry into this contaminated area by people who do not know of the danger, or who cannot read? How will you prevent the entry of animals, either domestic or wild, into this area? As an example: Coyotes are numerous in this territory, and it is impossible to control their range. Their habits include eating carrion. Some small animals may die of radioactivity. Coyotes may eat them, then travel to other places where their feces could contaminate plant life which in turn could be eaten by sheep or cows. Have you considered this danger?

We anxiously await your reply.

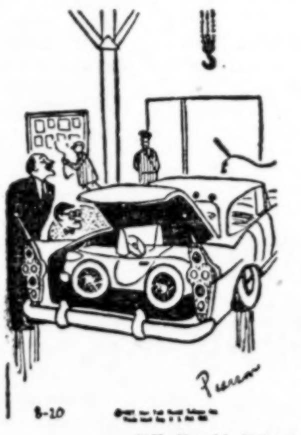
L. Kelley Mayhew, Temp, Chairman, Org. Committee to Protect Public Health and Welfare against the Hazards of Nuclear Energy. 3853 Clarke St., Oakland, Calif.

Happy birthday

CHICAGO, ILL.

It has been our privilege to know, for many years, the grandest woman; and she never faltered for one moment in her work for progress, for peace. October 9 is her 75th birthday. We could think of no better way to show our admiration and love than to share her birthday with "her" paper. Check for $30 enclosed.

Friends of your friend



N.Y. Herald Tribune

"If the competition gets tough in '58, we'll put in a little foreign car instead of a spare tire."

Verboten

CAPE TOWN, S. AFRICA

This notice [enclosed] barring the GUARDIAN from delivery in South Africa, will explain why I am unable to receive your paper. It is a very worthwhile paper and one of the few left available. I hope that you will be successful in your work for freedom and liberty.

Charles B. Mussared

Malaya and us

CHICAGO, ILL.

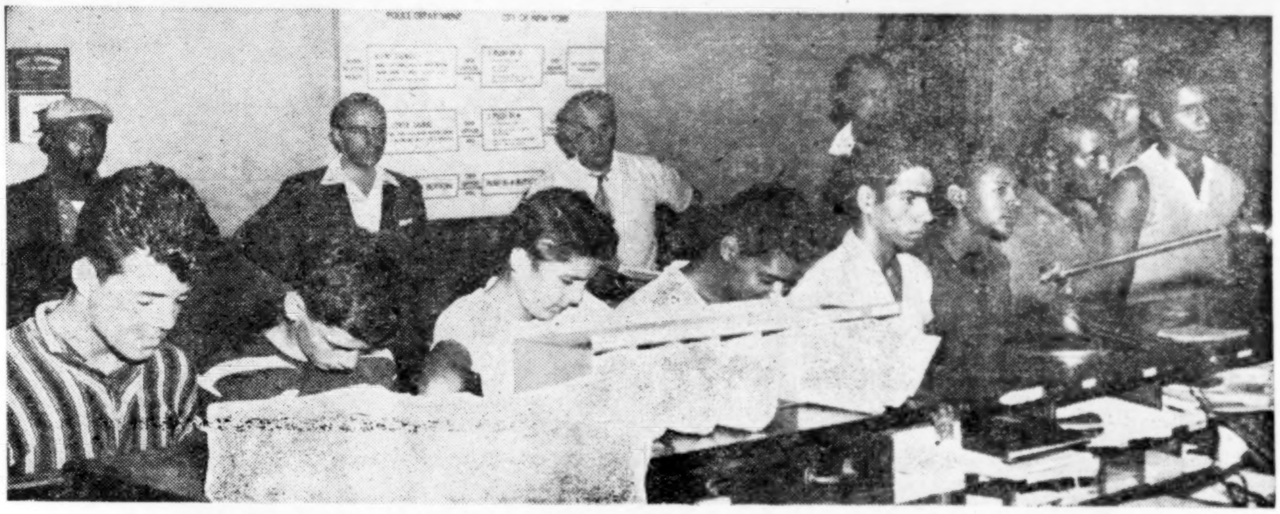
Congratulations are due to the more than six million people of the newly independent Federation of Malaya.

One hundred and seventy years ago their ancestors came under the rule of England. Britain's American colonies at the same time established the newly independent U.S.A. Its Congress so feared the military that it disbanded the entire army, retained only 80 men to guard the military stores at two forts and closed the office of the Secretary of War, as described in Mauritz A. Hallgren's **Landscape of Freedom** (1941).

From four million in 1790, the population of the U.S.A. increased to the present 170 million and the armed forces to 2.8 million, plus another 1.2 million civilian employees within the armed forces. The four million military total equals the population of 1790. Using the same ratio, is it possible that Malaya's population will increase to 255 million? And its armed forces?

Let us hope that its rulers and people will not repeat the mistakes of over-militarized U.S.A. Its almost $350,000,000,0000 "national security" expenditures since mid-1946 have not guaranteed peace. At less cost, why not establish a permanent USA-USSR negotiation board?

**Albert Bofman, Director
U.S. Committee Against Militarization
6327 S. May St., Chicago 21**



WILL MORE COPS AND LESS FREEDOM MAKE THESE YOUNGSTERS LESS VIOLENT?
Eight New York boys are booked for the murder of a 15-year-old. They said he welched on a 50-cent bet.

NIGHTSTICK AND CURFEW—OR A NEW LEASE ON LIFE?

N. Y. tries work-camp for delinquency

By Elmer Bendiner

FOR AN ENTIRE month New York community leaders and city officials have been strenuously conferring on the problem of violent youth and have come up with almost as many solutions as there are conferees. There is scarcely any agreement on what the problem is, let alone answers to it.

Judge Samuel S. Liebowitz, who has frequently prescribed nightsticks for youngsters, complained to a Youth Board Conference that youthful offenders have tossed inkwells at the heads of judges in court. He said: "We are being engulfed in a tidal wave of a most sadistic nature."

But Harold Katoff, executive director of the Williamsburg Settlement in Brooklyn, deplored the "mass hysteria" stimulated by talk of "gangs." He said: "The public has not been apprised of the complete facts. It thinks that everybody belonging to a gang is a hoodlum or criminal. These gangs are only troublesome among and between their own little gangs. Isolated cases of stealing or mugging are always laid to the gang. These are kids who want a little sunshine and find it in a rumble [a gang fight]."

YES—NO: Louis Hay, psychologist at the Bureau of Child Guidance, urged that schools be kept open on week-ends so that teen-agers can get together there. Rabbi Alter F. Landesman, director of the Hebrew Educational Society of Brownsville, countered that one by saying that he feared trouble if teen-agers were allowed to gather anywhere.

Patrolman Fred Conklin of the Youth Division said that "100 winos and bottle babies" had been arrested in one year in Highbridge Park alone. That type of statistic prompted the Rev. Dr. Allen E. Claxton of the Broadway Temple and Washington Heights Methodist Church to urge a voluntary 10 p.m. curfew for teenagers. Objection came from Clyde E. Murray of the Manhattanville Community Center who said: "What are these kids going home to? Seven people in two rooms or eleven in three." Home was where the trouble lay, he argued.

The American Institute of Public Opinion found that 70% of adults polled in a survey favored stricter discipline in the schools. But the American Fedn. of Teachers in its 41st national convention early this month warned of "an increasing preoccupation with discipline which results in retarded progress of normally adjusted students and actual deprivation of the gifted." The teachers advocated instead a limitation of 25 children to a classroom, more guidance staff, more social workers, psychologists and psychiatrists.

MORE ANSWERS: Other spokesmen said the answer was more cops, better street lights, and sports. To which the Rev. William J. Cullen of St. Peter Claver Roman Catholic Church in Brooklyn answered: "We have delinquency in Brooklyn that can't be stopped by putting a basketball in a boy's hand any more than by putting a knitting needle in a girl's hand." His recipe: "Instilling the love of God in people."

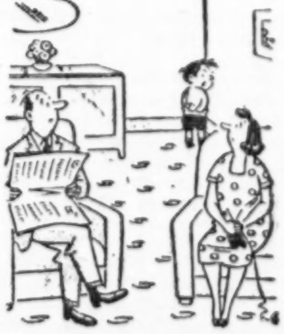
Mayor Wagner, competing with his Republican rival Robert K. Christenberry, who is campaigning on a platform of more cops and better street lamps, said he would "mobilize" the city for an "intensive fight" against "adolescent lawlessness." Even those forceful generalities were debatable. Sol Masch, president of the Jewish Community Council, said: "To try to solve this problem on a city-wide basis is just so much malarky." He thought it was up to the neighborhoods. Others thought it was up to the family.

The Youth Board, which is prepared to ride in many directions as the clamor for action grows, is experimenting with a set of criteria whereby they can predict which families are "crime breeding." The Board says it has tentatively traced most of the city's youthful crime to 20,000 families.

JOBS AND COPS: Working in still another direction, the Board is cooperating with a branch of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies in setting up an employment and guidance service at 332 E. 149 St., the Bronx. There the new Federation Employment and Guidance Service tries to persuade young people who have been in trouble to take steady jobs. Once they sign up the youngsters, they have to persuade employers to take their chances with "restless young men with erratic work habits."

As school got under way police tried to spot dope pushers in the school yards, watched all children suspiciously. Rookies patrolled reputedly risky areas in pairs. Though ideas tended to cancel each other out, the sheer energy expended on the problem in the city was impressive.

ANOTHER IDEA: In the forests of Chenango County, near North Pharsalia in central New York, another experiment was under way. There, in what used to be a Civilian Conservation Corps camp, 51 boys, aged 16-21, were serving out their sentences without bars, guards or guns.



Reynolds News, London
"And what's more, good boys come from good families . . .!"

They had been convicted of a variety of offenses. Each served three months in a "reception center" where they were tested and classified. The 51 were considered prime material for rehabilitation.

They do what the CCC boys did before them in the same forests—digging water holes for fire prevention, thinning the brush, maintaining trails, making picnic areas and wild life preserves.

In teams of ten under supervision of State Correction Department personnel and state foresters, the boys work an 8-hour day ranging up to 12 miles away from their camp in the 35,000-acres of timberland. No bars or guns surround them. None are thought necessary to protect the hunters, fishermen and campers who share the forests with the boys.

At the work-day's end they lead a camp life with baseball games and TV for recreation. They have for a mascot a dog named Dandy which, a N.Y. **Times** reporter noted, was also sent up for rehabilitation since he had been given to chasing cars.

SIGNS OF HOPE: The North Pharsalia camp has been going for a year with no trouble and a record of accomplishing about $60,000 worth of conservation work. District Supervisor Charles Baker called the experiment "the greatest thing that has happened to conservation here." John T. Slattery, director of youth rehabilitation in the State Dept. of Correction, said: "Here there are no numbers—only names. Within two weeks they are walking around with their heads up."

State authorities hope to expand the camp to accommodate 75 and perhaps launch another camp. N. Y. City officials have promised to study the experiment with a view to starting a similar work camp program.

The nightstick school of officials are waiting to see the records of the men after they come out. They ask: how many will be recommitted? It is still too early to say, though a few alumni of North Pharsalia are back in civil life, on parole, and causing no trouble.

It is New York's first major step away from the prison system for youthful offenders which has turned so many amateur criminals into professionals. Other states have experimented with work camps and the Federal government has maintained a pilot plant.

Even the most enthusiastic partisans do not claim the camp is the total answer. The most wholesome work in any forest cannot get at the roots of the trouble deep in the corruption of society. But for the boys involved, the camps seem a rare break and to the public it offers the proposition that a boy should be treated for what ails him instead of punished for his symptoms.

JOHN GOJACK'S APPEAL

First Amendment case tests scope of Watkins edict

TRUEST FRIEND any boss ever had in a go-around with the union in recent years has been the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Back in February, 1955, Committee chairman Frances E. Walter (D-Pa.) came right out with it in the case of the United Electrical Workers (UE) and said he was out to "get" the union.

A good chance came a month later, when UE was heading into Natl. Labor Relations Board elections at the big Magnavox and Whirlpool plants in Indiana and Michigan. A few days before the elections, the Committee summoned UE officials before it. Among them was John Thomas Gojack, then president of UE District Nine and leader of the UE's representation fight at the two plants.

Gojack, a youthful, cheerful go-getter, challenged the legislative validity of the inquiry, accused it of trying to "get" his union and serenely refused to answer smear questions under the First Amendment. He was cited for contempt of Congress in July, 1955, indicted in December, convicted the following May and sentenced to nine months in jail and $200 fine by a Washington, D.C. Federal court. He appealed and has been free on bail since.

WHY THE FIRST: Gojack invoked the First Amendment rather than the Fifth as a means of asserting squarely his right to privacy of belief as well as to challenge the Committee's practice of questioning solely for the purpose of exposure. In the latter respect his refusal paralleled that of United Auto Workers leader John A. Watkins, who was similarly found guilty of contempt.

The Watkins case was the basis for the Supreme Court's first affirmation this spring of a witness' right to invoke the First Amendment before Congressional committees when a valid legislative purpose to the questioning is not made evident, or when committees ask questions for exposure's sake.

Yet since the Watkins decision, Congressional committees, and particularly Rep. Walter's, have operated as if the Supreme Court had not ruled their past procedures unconstitutional.

WIDE INTEREST: This week the Gojack case, now before the Court of Appeals in Washington, became the focus of widespread interest. The reason: the court's disposition of it may be the first reflection of what that court believes to be the scope of the Supreme Court's Watkins decision.

The decision in Gojack's case may indicate the same court's intentions in the contempt convictions of attorney Harry Sacher, labor leader Abraham Flaxer and teacher Lloyd Berenblatt, all returned to the Washington Appeals Court by the Supreme Court last summer for reconsideration in the light of the Watkins decision. Last week the government filed its reply brief to Gojack's appeal. Date for argument has not been set.

SUPPORT NEEDED: Gojack's appeal needs public support. Since his challenge to the Walter Committee in 1955, District Nine of UE switched affiliations to the Intl. Assn. of Machinists and Gojack has since had to find work outside the trade union movement. Rank-and-file union members continue to contribute to the case, but there is no official trade union support.

The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee has issued literature on Gojack's and other First Amendment cases. This and other literature may be obtained from, and contributions sent to, John T. Gojack, P.O. Box 751, Fort Wayne, Ind.

AN ARKANSAS EDITOR SPEAKS OUT

'A malignancy worse than my cancer'

FOR KIDS INTEGRATION IS NO PROBLEM: THEY WONDER WHEN GROWNUPS WILL UNDERSTAND

Children of all races answer the bell for the opening of school in San Francisco

Elizabeth Burrow, co-owner of the Ozark (Ark.) Spectator, *which has been in her family since 1911, has been ill of cancer since July. She is at present recuperating from an operation to check the malignancy. While she was in the hospital, the high school in Ozark admitted Negro students for the first time. There was no violence, but there was unpleasantness in the community. On Sept. 10 Miss Burrow wrote in her front-page column "The Last Straw" how she felt about illness—private and public. The column was reprinted in the* Arkansas Gazette *of Little Rock, and the GUARDIAN reprints excerpts below.*

A DOCTOR wanted me to write a column about my operation and I wanted to write you the longest card of thanks in the world, but there's time for that after these books get read and the lump in my throat made by the X-rays goes away.

There's been another kind of lump in my throat lately, too. You know how it is. Get sick enough and you can't help looking back over your life, grieving for its emptiness and waste.

Here on **The Spectator** one just works and hopes the work is a service and satisfaction to the public, and that somehow the ideals of integrity upon which this newspaper was founded will be strengthened in us all.

Facing death in a hospital room, this may not seem much. But facing death is also facing God, and you hold out to Him what little you have.

Coming back home, I found there wasn't as much to offer God as I'd hoped and that's why there's a different sort of lump in my throat today.

I'd been so proud of Ozark and this county. And I'm still proud of most of you, but shocked about you others.

Turns out, the newspaper hasn't even been a service to some who do not even read the news in it.

While all the battles for good government, the pleas through the years for understanding the "other fellow" and helping the underdog, and our support of youth programs—what did it amount to for some of you?

We'd better been hauling garbage.

I UNDERSTAND how it is. Some people have nothing in the world to be proud of but their white skin.

It seems a queer thing to be proud of, since they didn't make it white, themselves. And being in my condition, it's easier to remember what funny colors white skin turns after it is in the grave for a while. Nothing pretty about it.

I know, too, there are people who are failures in life. They've been hurt and scarred in different ways, and it makes them abuse people they consider beneath themselves. They do it to relieve their feelings the way some people kick a chair when they get mad.

There are poor people, too, in economic competition with Negroes for too-few jobs. Sometimes they're called "poor white trash" and sometimes they vent hatred.

And all too frequently white people have black hearts. I first learned that in school here in Ozark, where a few town kids used to pick on the country kids.

That was all so long ago, I thought everybody would be different by now. Just as we have a superior class of Negroes here, so I'd thought that our white citizens were extra special, too.

Most of them are, thank God.

THIS NEWSPAPER printed in its most conspicuous place a story about a School Board meeting to discuss integration. The public was invited.

Not one person came. Yet a few of you now are yipping like mad dogs.

Is it to lend support to Governor Faubus? Instead, you are hurting his argument. He is using the example of Ozark's peacefulness to bolster his own contention that Little Rock posed a different problem.

Certainly our Negro population is too small ever to present a problem, and our integration is not noble. It's simply horse-sense.

And the School Board? Those men are not the U.S. Supreme Court. They didn't make the integration law, nor did Superintendent Graves, nor did those two little Negro girls who didn't even wish to attend school here.

And aren't you big, brave people!

SOME OF YOU KIDS at school, too. You're the most. You have an athletics program designed primarily to teach good sportsmanship. It isn't for entertainment or exercise, which could be obtained for all of you at a much cheaper cost.

Yet look at those of you who have let a couple of little punks influence you! Where is your own intelligence, your own sense of fair play?

Of course the two little colored girls will make it all right. But the worry is over our own conscience. Will we white people make it all right?

Here's a malignancy worse than my cancer and I wouldn't swap with you.

WAGNER AND JANSEN BLAMED

The schools are segregated in New York City too

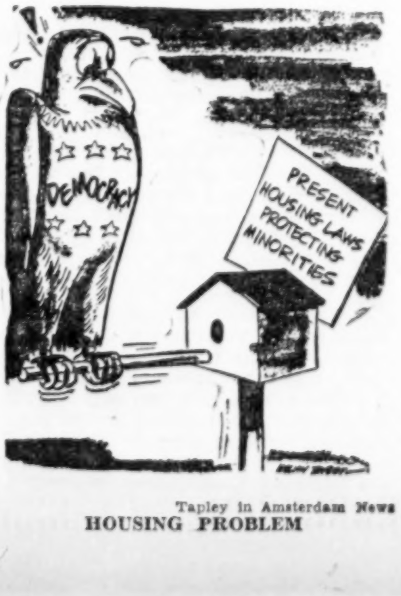
NO MOBS or troops barred Negro and Puerto Rican girls and boys from New York City's all-white public schools when the fall term opened on Sept. 9. Still, some 125,000—about 23,000 more than the total Little Rock population—were as effectively jimcrowed, in a practical sense, as most Negro students in Arkansas.

Integration is being hampered in Little Rock because of Arkansas' jimcrow laws; in New York City because of residential segregation and a Board of Education rule that students must attend their neighborhood schools. A New York State anti-discrimination law legally prevents jimcrow. A partial remedy for New York City's actual jimcrow, the Brown-Isaacs-Sharkey anti-jimcrow housing bill, is now pigeon-holed in the City Council.

Though most concede the general advisability of sending children to neighborhood schools, two Negro families, one in Harlem and the other in the East Bronx, are so determined to send their children to schools outside their neighborhoods that they have gone to court about it. The reason is that in Greater New York's Negro community a neighborhood school is a jimcrow school.

Supt. of Schools William Jansen, criticized recently by N.Y. Urban League director Edward S. Lewis for "literally scuttling integration [because] he thinks Negroes are inferior," has conceded that "most of these schools are in communities segregated because their inhabitants happen to be of one ethnic group."

ASK JANSEN FIRING: Brooklyn's Junior High 258 served as a conspicuous example at the public hearing before the Board of Estimate last November on the proposed 1957 capital budget. JHS 258 was opened a year and a half after the U.S. Supreme Court 1954 decision outlawing jimcrow public education; but 258 has been all-Negro from the start. The N.Y. **Amsterdam News** (10/17/56) was angry enough at Dr. Jansen to demand his resignation because he said JHS 258's location in jimcrow Bedford-Stuyvesant made it "very difficult, if not impossible, to integrate."


DEMOCRACY
PRESENT HOUSING LAWS PROTECTING MINORITIES

Tapley in Amsterdam News

HOUSING PROBLEM

Many Negro parents and the Brooklyn NAACP seconded that motion. They had expected the superintendent to desegregate JHS 258 and other schools along lines proposed by the Board of Education's Sub-Commission on Teachers Assignments and Personnel and the Sub-Commission on Zoning. Reports by both groups were unanimously approved last December by the full Commission on Integration. They were discussed in a public hearing last Jan. 17.

The Report on Teachers Assignment sought to attract a stable staff of regulars to the "difficult"—predominantly Negro and Puerto Rican—schools in poverty-ridden areas. Substitute teachers now predominate. The report urged that volunteers be transferred to such schools wherever possible; that, otherwise, regular teachers be assigned. Final recommendation was that a teacher have three years experience in "difficult" schools before becoming eligible for promotion to a supervisory position.

FEET DRAGGERS: The Sub-Commission on Zoning acknowledged the importance of segregated housing in perpetuating jimcrow patterns and emphasized the necessity of breaking residential barriers in rezoning old schools and selecting sites for new ones.

Despite support for the commission reports from many quarters, Supt. Jansen and Mayor Wagner have dragged their feet on the program. Jansen shortly before school opened, said the principle of neighborhood schooling took precedence over any integration program.

The Urban League and several NAACP branches early this year began showering Dr. Jansen and board president Charles H. Silver with requests to appoint a Negro associate superintendent. They suggested Dr. John B. King, an assistant superintendent, and Dr. Francis A. Turner, Asst. Director of the Bureau of Community Education. Dr. Turner was recently appointed a special superintendent in charge of all zoning problems.

SHORT-CHANGED KIDS: Blame for failure to solve those problems — constantly increasing in quantity and complexity—can now be shifted to Dr. Jansen's Negro subordinate. Just his being there has already aroused what the Urban League's Lewis calls "prototypes of the White Citizens Councils." Lewis was quoted by the **Amsterdam News** (8/31):

"Mr. Jansen will tell you that he is quite liberal and in favor of integration, but I am actually saying that, on the record, he is not taking steps to really implement this program. He finds all kinds of excuses, saying how difficult it is. He is not doing the job."

The newspaper commented that New York City had "short-changed Negro and Puerto Rican children in such a way [that] it will take 20 years of concentration on them alone to make up the deficit."

On Sept. 20, about 100 Negro and Puerto Rican parents picketed City Hall with placards reading: "Integration Now." The demonstration was organized by Parents in Action Against Educational Discrimination, an organization with offices at 165 W. 131st St. Among its sponsors are the city chapters of the NAACP.

In last year's election campaign Jacob Javits, then N.Y. State attorney general and now U.S. Senator, quoted from a N.Y.U. survey showing the city spent $65.50 per child in predominantly white grade schools, compared to $21.10 in elementary schools attended primarily by Puerto Rican and Negro children. The Public Education Assn. said in its latest report (1953-54)—based on information from Board of Education files—that New York City expended $62.08 on every JHS white child; $50.30 on each Negro and Puerto Rican child.

THERE WASN'T MUCH VACATION FOR JIM HAGERTY IN NEWPORT
The President's worried secretary was kept busy locating the President on the golf course during every Little Rock crisis. The French press headlined the Eisenhower-Faubus meeting: "Between two games of golf."

New Orleans: There was apathy in the hall

NEW ORLEANS, LA.

Special to the Guardian

THE WHITE CITIZENS Councils—now called Citizens Councils—are working overtime to convince Southern white womanhood it needs protecting. Reason seems to be that Southern white manhood isn't responding too well to the racists' program. "Once we get the women going," said Roy V. Harris, Georgia "educator," at a Council rally in New Orleans, "our troubles will be over."

A scant 1,000 persons huddled in the 10,000-capacity Municipal Auditorium Sept. 17 to hear Harris ask in hollow tones: "How'd you like to find yourself with a white baby on one knee, a black on the other?"

Some snickered. For if there is one place in the world where families are "mixed," it is Louisiana. The very word "Creole," proudly borne by the best cookbooks, the best vegetables, and "the best families," means "of half-European origin." Nobody even bothers to look twice at family parties displaying every color that flesh is heir to.

FLAGGING SPIRITS: The Auditorium audience ignored the Council's collection boxes in the lobby, and seemed unimpressed by the "horrible example of integration" distributed as "literature." One of these portrayed young people at Los Angeles City College enjoying a social affair. The June issue of a magazine, **Citizens Council**, disclosed as "news" the fact that the YWCA favors integration.

An evening at a Little Rock home

IN THE Chicago **Defender** of Sept. 21 the paper's star reporter Ethel L. Payne told of an evening spent with Dr. Lee Lorch, professor of mathematics at Philander Smith College, and Mrs. Grace Lorch, in their home in Little Rock on Sept. 18. Dr. Lorch is familiar to GUARDIAN readers as the man who has been persecuted for 15 years and forced to go from job to job, because of his insistence that Negroes should be first-class citizens. He is at present awaiting a verdict after a second trial on a charge of contempt of Congress for refusing to answer questions.

Mrs. Lorch's name has become familiar only since the Battle of Little Rock: she is the woman who came to the aid of Elizabeth Eckford, 15, the Negro girl who was barred from entering Central High School in Little Rock on Sept. 3, the day the schools opened. Mrs. Lorch shielded her from a threatening mob.

A CLOSE LOOK: When Miss Payne arrived at the Lorches' apartment house with Dr. Lorch, the receptionist looked at her closely. Shortly after they reached the apartment itself, a phone call from the manager notified the Lorches that they were entertaining a colored guest in violation of the apartment house rules, and when would they be vacating. Dr. Lorch replied that he was unaware that this was a policy of the building and that he would continue to entertain whomever he pleased, whatever the pigmentation.

They all sat down to dinner; Miss Payne admitted that apprehension spoiled her appetite. About 10 p.m. Dr. Lorch went down with Miss Payne to drive her back to her rooming house. As they crossed the lobby the receptionist picked up a phone and reported their departure.

COME AND SEE, HENRY: The next morning the Lorches received a letter asking them to vacate their apartment by noon of the same day. At 1 p.m. he was still house-hunting. Miss Payne was distressed, but Dr. Lorch comforted her by saying: "I'd sooner be dead than to have to undergo this kind of regimentation."

Miss Payne ended her story thus:

"Right now, Little Rock to me is the crummiest corner on the map. When I got home, Henry Cabot Lodge was on TV sounding off at Russia and giving the commies hell. Well, he should be in Little Rock right now and see what's going on."

COMMENT ABOUT IKE IS STRONG

Louis Armstrong really gave lip to feelings of Negroes

By Eugene Gordon

THE NEGRO PRESS, a fair barometer of feeling in the Negro community, began last week to estimate the possible effects of Arkansas Gov. Faubus' rebellion against the authority of the Federal government. The papers revealed an image the whole American community could do well to study. For whether or not most white persons accept Louis Armstrong's view that President Eisenhower showed "two" faces and "no guts" in the Battle of Little Rock, the jazz musician undoubtedly trumpeted the opinion of most Negroes. This opinion can be summed up in Armstrong's articulate question: Who's running the country—the President or the "uneducated plowboy" Governor?

Armstrong conceded that "the South is full of intelligent white people." But, he added, "it's getting almost so bad a colored man hasn't got any country."

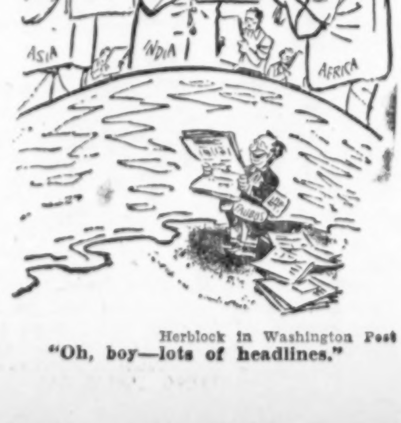
Armstrong keynoted the mood of Negro comment, as it was registered before the Governor lifted the siege of Central High and before the President's proclamation.

LET'S RECOGNIZE IT: Some responsible Negroes believe the nation faces an insurrection which, the Los Angeles **Herald Dispatch** said (8/12), "is far more serious than the one which precipitated the Civil War." They think it more dangerous because it is not recognized for what it is. They are convinced that the Governor of Arkansas was chosen by a small but well organized racist clique to create the Little Rock situation as a test. Integrating Negro children into the American public school system thus becomes, according to this interpretation, secondary to the question whether all citizens will act together to preserve their democratic heritage.

This viewpoint holds the President chiefly responsible for what the **Herald Dispatch** described as "the breakdown in law and order":

"President Eisenhower has failed. His crime against not only the Negro citizen but all Americans is indicated by his determination **NOT** to exercise his authority to protect every American citizen . . . We need real leadership during these crucial moments. We need a leader who believes in the American people, all of them; a leader who, above all, believes in the Constitution of the United States and will boldly defend it. Dwight Eisenhower is **NOT** that man. Dwight Eisenhower should be impeached, **NOW.**"

"A DELIBERATE ACT": The Los Angeles **Tribune** (8/11), warned white America it should soberly ponder that what happened in Little Rock "was a deliberate act, masterminded by Southern strategists in this second war between the states, to test just how far the South can go in its clear determination to remove itself (at first on the race issue alone) from the jurisdiction of the Federal government; and that all of Faubus' rationalization, cries of **Wolf!** and imminent danger, are part of the 'old army game', more commonly known as the razzle-dazzle."

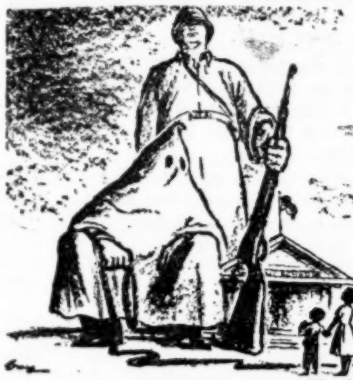


Herblock in Washington Post

"Oh, boy—lots of headlines."

The flamboyant statements of Harlem's Rep. Adam Clayton Powell often are criticized or ignored in the Negro community. But he was speaking its language when he wired the President Sept. 18 that "in the light of the present crisis it would be helpful for you to get the Negroes' point of view directly" on school integration and on civil rights generally. The President's prompt decision to meet Powell indicated that although he may be thick-skinned to criticism on Little Rock, he is sensitive to political pinpricks.

"SURPRISE" STATEMENT: NAACP exec. secy. Roy Wilkins wired the President that since Mr. Eisenhower had conferred with Sen. Russell (D-Ga.) earlier on the civil rights bill and with Gov. Faubus more recently, Negroes "do not relish the debate and settlement of their destiny by others, while they sit in an anteroom." It was after these two requests for conferences that the President publicly expressed "disappointment" at Faubus' continued defiance. The President's statement "came as a surprise," the N.Y. **Times** reported from Newport.



The Militant

"Law and order" in Little Rock

Gov. Faubus' chief defender in the North is the conservative David Lawrence, syndicated columnist and editor of **U.S. News and World Report.** But for the most part the news commentators have been highly critical of Faubus and of the President.

THE MEN BEHIND IKE: However, it is the Negro critic who has rolled up his sleeves. A typical wallop by the L.A. **Tribune** was aimed at Eisenhower's "hesitancy, woolgathering, daisy-picking, sleeping at the switch, procrastinating, and buck-passing." But the paper said that the "greater and more venal betrayal of their country was that of the men who foisted" Gen. Eisenhower on the country as its leader.

PROPERTY VS. PEOPLE: The Pittsburgh **Courier's** editor P. L. Prattis (8/21) said that if Faubus had been foolish enough to use his troops "to restrict the use of Federal PROPERTY, or to destroy Federal PROPERTY, he would have found out quickly, without resort to courts, the Attorney General, or anybody else, that he was up against the armed might of the Federal government." Prattis urged Negroes to demand that "HUMAN RIGHTS be given the same protection as PROPERTY RIGHTS."

Meanwhile, the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference are deploying through the Deep South in a drive to register 5,000,000 Negro voters. The Conference is backed by the new Civil Rights Act and a $200,000 budget. Some of the leaders seem naively proud of Vice President Nixon's promise of "support." Others said that every voter registered through Nixon's help is one more hand against the enemy. Letting potential voters know a vote need not be given in exchange for such help is probably the first lesson.

GOVERNMENT PLAGUED BY ECONOMIC WOES AND ALGERIAN CRISIS

Latest Paris fashion is old hat inflation

Since GUARDIAN correspondent Anne Bauer sent the following dispatch, the French cabinet endorsed the government's Algerian proposals, but only after the government eliminated its pledge to set up a Central Federal Council two years after local self-rule was inaugurated in Algeria. The cabinet was also persuaded to maintain its unity in the face of the forthcoming UN debate on Algeria. At the UN, Tunisia and Morocco agreed to represent the Algerian Natl. Liberation Front (FLN) which the UN does not officially recognize. Tunisian President Bourguiba has asked for arms from the U.S. to combat French troops constantly crossing the border allegedly in pursuit of Algerian liberation fighters. In a memorandum to UN General Assembly President Munro, FLN representative Mohammed Yazid asked for direct UN intervention to settle the issue of Algeria's independence.

By Anne Bauer
Guardian Staff Correspondent

PARIS

THE INFLATION France is embarking on right now deserves special attention because, while it follows the established pattern, it also adds a few frills of its own. It is an inflation in a showcase, displayed for public demonstration and warning. It makes everyone inflation-conscious.

At breakfast, M. and Mme. Dupont are told over their (government-controlled) radio what food to buy and what to avoid buying: "Grapes are very expensive today, but string beans are reasonable" . . . "Keep away from veal. Why not eat chicken today?" (The government's pet idea is to reduce veal consumption and raise more beef).

Out marketing, Mme. Dupont finds beans as expensive as grapes, all meat prices generally prohibitive and the government's price list unrelated to market realities.

Looking at TV sets, M. Dupont remembers that the government has put a 20-25% tax on them. Shopping for a suit or a pair of shoes, Mme. Dupont is warned to buy now because prices are liable to climb higher before the month ends. And so it goes.

IN THE DEEP FREEZE: Latent for years, inflation received official sanction when Premier Bourgès-Maunoury and Finance Minister Gaillard in mid-August decreed a 20% "adjustment" of the franc for most foreign transactions. (This partial devaluation in practice has meant that French exports now sell abroad 20% cheaper, imports cost 20% more, with a few vital raw materials exempt from the increased import dues.)

This dramatic measure was meant not only to repair the country's hopelessly dislocated foreign exchange balance, but also to usher in a period of austerity. The country, in the government's view, was "living beyond its means." Since inflation naturally follows devaluation and wipes out its benefits, the government next had to consider an overall wage and price freeze.

Anti anti-anti

WE MAY NOT BE faced directly by Communists. But we must be aware of the growing number of anti-anti-Communists.

Editorial in Yonkers
Herald Statesman, 9/7

The recent drop in the world market prices of many essential raw materials (e.g. copper) seemed to indicate that the government had resorted to devaluation at a favorable moment. Economists saw a real chance to avoid runaway prices. A general wage freeze could be attempted if the price controls decreed last August worked out. (Industrial prices were frozen at the abnormally high July 31 level; agricultural prices remain uncontrolled for all but a few basic products.) In theory, France's new economic look could work.

DOESN'T WORK: In practice, the results have been negative. Big Business criticism of price controls, the trade unions' opposition to blocked wages and an uproar among big farmers (stirred up by agricultural combines mainly for political reasons) have precipitated a showdown in Parliament. This may cause the downfall of the government.

Conservative economists claim that the Finance Minister's austerity measures were justified and might have revived the country's economy if wages and prices were prevented from rising for a limited period. They failed because of the public's lack of confidence in the government.

People here in past emergencies made great personal sacrifices when they knew the reason and the goal. They are unwilling now, when the giant capitalist trusts are making unprecedented profits, and the Algerian war is draining the country's resources for totally unproductive purposes.

THE REAL REASON: On a broad scale, the economic malaise is not merely a lack of confidence in money—it is a lack of confidence in peace. "Why should I save my money and wait for the next war?" asks the average citizen, as he watches continued nuclear weapon experiments and thinks of a guided missile landing his way one day. He is going to buy a car, a TV set and an ice-box, or even oil stock (now selling out as fast as it is put on the market in France) that promises quick money for more buying. He is going to enjoy life while there is still time.

In the end, the answer is political. There will be something wrong as long as the cold war and the "balance of terror" are not transformed into peaceful co-existence.

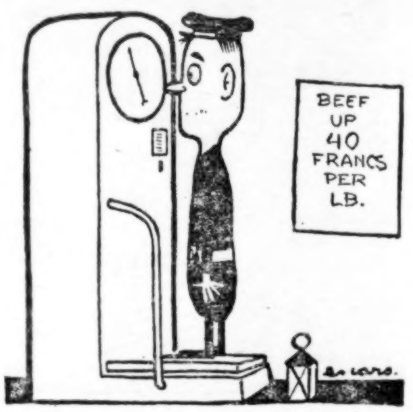
THE ALGERIAN THORN: While the deputies debated inflation, the French Cabinet was desperately trying to reach agreement on a plan for Algeria in time for the UN Assembly debate on Algeria. But even as the Cabinet argued the fine points, Algerian resistance leaders Ferhat Abbas and Messali Hadj rejected the plan outright [see precede].

The text of the plan indicates that the government has made no progress toward a solution. Some generals are always preparing for the war just ended; a Paris weekly noted that the government plan might have suited the situation ten years ago.

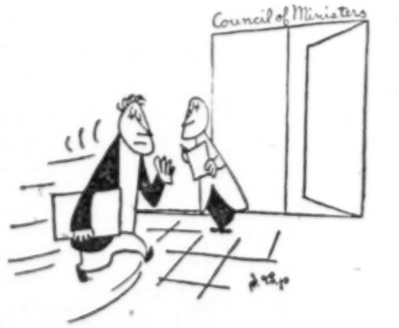
The plan is presumably inspired by the federal system; but it federates not to unite (as in the U.S. and Switzerland) but to split Algeria into an as yet undetermined number of territories. It provides the territories with a minimum of local self-rule—excluding, among other things, foreign affairs, defense, security and justice, relegating them to a safely distant future.

A "DISHONEST" PLAN: Two liberal "openings" in the plan are: (1) a one-house Arab-European legislature (the text warily omits the proportion of representation), and (2) an Executive Federal Council in Algiers. Under incessant attack by the right, these provisions are unlikely to be approved in the House.

Liberal and left-wing circles consider the plan dishonest and unworkable for these reasons: (1) elections to territorial assemblies are to be held only after the cessation of hostilities; (2) the assemblies, in turn, will elect members of the Federative Assembly and Executive Council only after they have been in existence for two years; (3) the plan has been drawn up without consulting the Algerians, and is being offered to them without an alternative; (4) it splinters Algeria at the very time when a new national consciousness is sweeping the country



Liberation, Paris
"Gosh, I've just gone down 40 francs!"



Canard Enchaine, Paris
New French cabinet minister: "I'll only be a minute."

While peace in Algeria still seemed far away, two new cases of legal abuse were disclosed this summer. In mid-June, paratroopers arrested and held incommunicado Henri Alleg, 36, editor of the Communist daily **Alger Republicain,** and Maurice Audin, 25, Algiers University science teacher. Their wives never saw them again.

THE VICIOUS CIRCLE: "If my husband is still alive . . ."—this is how Mme. Alleg's letter to the government began. Released to the press, the letter detailed her husband's account to the Algiers attorney general of his experiences under detention. He told of electric "treatments" which left burns and infected wounds on his fingers, tongue and other parts of the body. The account stirred up enough storm to bring Alleg before a judge.

Mme. Audin submitted her husband's case to the Commission to Safeguard Individual Liberties and Rights set up last May by the then Premier Guy Mollet to "reveal and punish all violations . . . of the rights of men and human dignity." The last official news Mme. Audin had of her husband was that he had "escaped from detention."

As the vicious circle of terrorism, torture and repression continued, the press reported that lawyer Ahmed Boumendjel, who recently left Paris for Switzerland, has joined the enlarged Natl. Committee of the Algerian Revolution, set up by the Natl. Liberation Front in Cairo last September. He is the brother of Ali Boumendjel, who jumped to death from the sixth floor of his paratrooper prison in Algiers last March.

TRADITION OF CATHOLICISM AS A PATRIOTIC RALLYING POINT

How church and state cooperate in Poland

By Ursula Wassermann
Special to the Guardian

WARSAW

AS I WATCHED the religious processions held in honor of **Corpus Christi** recently, I realized again how profoundly Catholic this country is. Nowhere in the world, with the possible exception of Spain or Ireland, can be found today the same religious fervor and devotion. This display of religious emotion seems odd in a communist state.

The position of the Church in Poland is unique in Eastern Europe, and its uniqueness has been recognized by the post-October Gomulka regime. For centuries past, when Poland was divided and oppressed, occupied by the Protestant Prussian and the Orthodox Russian, it was the Church as much as any other social force which acted as a patriotic rallying point.

Szpilki, Warsaw

There is the old joke from Tsarist days, which has since been told to fit any regime, of the Jew who always attended Mass. One day, some of the congregation asked why he consistently attended Mass despite the fact that he was a disbeliever. "I am also against the Government," he replied.

CONCESSIONS: Quite apart from the ideological struggle between communism and Rome, Poles—whether Catholic or not, and the vast majority are faithful to Rome—by an automatic reflex action were opposed to secular authority. During the Stalin era, communism here as elsewhere tried to do battle with the Church—although lines were never as sharply drawn as in Hungary or even in Yugoslavia.

When the position was reversed, this reversal came as a shock to many an old Communist, anti-Stalinists included. However, the majority within the Communist Party, as without, would today agree with what one Communist deputy said to me the other day: "If we really want to build socialism, we must build with the help of the people and not against their will," and the people here are overwhelmingly Roman Catholic.

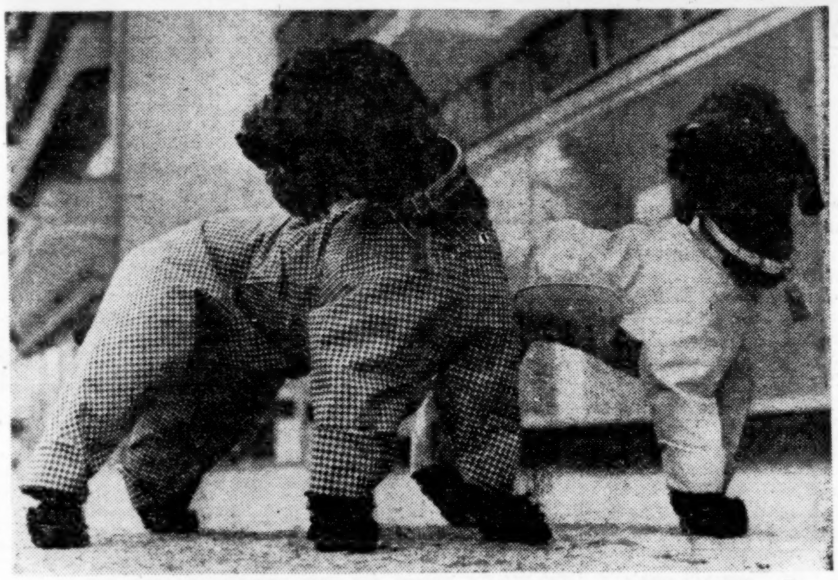
The concessions made to the Church are considerable, the most important of them the re-introduction of religious instruction in schools—schools operated and financially supported by a communist government. Religious instruction, although not obligatory, has been adopted almost universally, and even in the capital—the center of enlightenment—two-thirds of the schools adopted it. One unhappy result of religious instruction has been ugly—even if isolated—outbursts of anti-Semitism directed against children — some of them, ironically enough, not Jewish at all but children of militant Communists—who refused to participate in courses on religion held by priests.

(Continued on Page 7)

EAST ALARMED AS 'GOOD OLD DAYS' RETURN

Adenauer victory means delay in united Germany

By Gordon Schaffer
Special to the Guardian



IN THE WONDERLAND OF WEST GERMANY: A DOG'S LIFE
A poplin for poodles and a checkered suit in a Berlin fashion show

BERLIN

ADENAUER'S SWEEPING VICTORY in the West German elections means that for a good many years ahead, the idea of a united Germany is out of the political picture. There is no present basis on which the two German republics can get together to discuss joint action. The election also puts out of the political picture any hope that may have been cherished in the West that Poland would move further from Moscow and nearer Washington.

To the West, the most striking feature of recent West German development has been the tremendous economic upsurge—"Die Deutsche Wunder," with its threat of ever-fiercer competition in the markets of the world. But to the East, the most significant news from the Federal Republic in West Germany has been about the steady return to power of generals and judges, industrialists and arms manufacturers and a host of others who unrepentantly admit and even boast of their prominence in the Hitler regime.

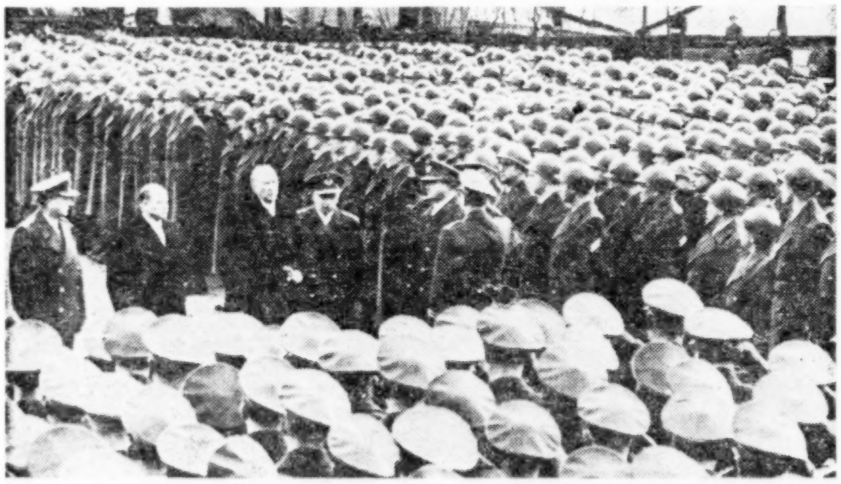
THE FINANCIERS: The countries in the East which were ravaged and tortured by the Nazis now look on Germany rather as we in the West would have done in 1938 if an area of the Third Reich as big as the present German Democratic Republic (East Germany) had broken away from Hitler and declared its solidarity with Republican Spain. They certainly do not desire to see a united Germany on the Bonn pattern. They are not impressed by talk of "free elections" when they know that big business, which put a levy on coal to pay for Hitler's election fund, financed Adenauer with equal liberality. They regard the German Democratic Republic—and particularly its acceptance of the present German-Polish frontiers—as their protection against an aggressive German army on their borders.

When the new Parliament begins to meet in Bonn, there will be a greater measure of defiance of Western opinion, as well as intensified propaganda against the East. One amazing feature of the German situation is the naive belief of the Americans and the British that the West German leaders are grateful to them. Actually, they regard their Western allies as fools who fought the wrong war, executed leaders who, apart from a few minor mistakes, were fighting for "Christian civilization," and who now need German generals and soldiers to organize their defense. They are perfectly aware that with the help of U.S. dollars and machines they have won the peace and that their mark can now dictate to the pound and the franc. There are plenty of powerful people in Bonn who would be willing to try to drag the West into a "limited" war to regain their lost territories.

SHAPE OF THE FUTURE: All these facts are known in East Germany—even if they are ignored in Washington and London and overshadowed by other problems in Paris. What does that signify for the future?

- Bonn will be made aware that the whole strength of the Warsaw alliance is available to defend East Germany.
- The economic strength of the whole socialist bloc will be behind the German Democratic Republic in its effort to compete in living standards with the Federal Republic.
- The Western powers will be forced to understand that any constructive approach to the problems of Europe must be based on recognition of the existence of two German Republics.

THE LEIPZIG FAIR: I have just returned from a visit to Leipzig Fair, the trade showpiece of East Germany. The autumn fair deals mainly with consumer goods and light industry. Heavy machinery is shown at the Spring Fair. Buyers came from all over the world and in particular from such "neutral" countries as Finland, India, Egypt, Sudan. East Germany is producing goods which can compete in quality, production schedule and price with anything from the capitalist world. She is receiving in return from customers in the socialist world most of her raw material needs. You can walk around the shops and see Chinese, Soviet, Bulgarian, Rumanian, Albanian produce and you realize the possibilities of integrating a highly skilled and specialized industrial economy with countries rich in raw materials. But she is getting into western markets as well.



IN THE WONDERLAND OF WEST GERMANY: A MAN'S LIFE
Chancellor Adenauer reviews the new German army at Andernach

Living conditions in the GDR have improved considerably in the last year. The continuance of rationing at low prices of butter, meat and sugar is not a sign of continuing scarcity but a method of assuring a minimum of these foodstuffs to the lower-paid families. There is plenty more on sale at higher prices. By Western standards, rents, utilities and transport are ridiculously cheap in terms of average income. Industrial goods and clothing are much more expensive and, except for the highest-priced samples, clothing is not up to Western standards. Welfare services for the children and the sick are ahead of many Western countries.

The effect is to provide a welfare state economy with a very low standard but out of the reach of real poverty.

PROBLEM OF PRODUCTIVITY: There is still plenty of grumbling in East Germany, but the people can see improvement in industry and agriculture reflecting itself in their daily lives.

One East German problem is the lower productivity per head compared with West Germany. Visitors from West Germany are amazed at the leisurely pace in the factories. The East Germans say frankly it cannot be improved by discipline but only by the development of socialist understanding.

The Fuehrer

"THE IDEAL of our citizens," Reinhold Maier, head of the right-of-center Free Democrats, said in an unusual election campaign speech in Heidelberg, "is simply to turn their cares over to a leader and to think no more about it. That was the case with Bismarck. Then it was repeated with Kaiser Wilhelm II. Then came Hindenburg, and we know what came after that. And now our citizens have their Adenauer . . ."

—**I. F. Stone's Weekly**, 9/16.

There are still too many restrictions on life and until they are removed there will be dissatisfaction; but the authorities point to the millions of dollars spent in attempts to disrupt their country, much of it from the middle of their territory—in West Berlin.

Church in Poland

(Continued from Page 6)

STRANGE FIGHT: A more far-reaching phenomenon, as far as Poland as a nation is concerned, is the strange spectacle today of the "Society for Lay Education" battling, not only for the minds of parents, teachers and children alike, but for new legislation for separation of Church and State. We are used to political parties making this one of their main platforms in such countries as Argentina or, translated into terms of Jewish orthodoxy, Israel, but to come across this struggle in a communist country, where according to Marxist concepts this problem has been solved, is indeed startling.

Poland, of course, never had its French Revolution, never had its 1848, but tried to transform itself from a primitive capitalism, superimposed upon a feudal structure, into a socialist economy. In the religious sphere, as in so many others, there has been no painless childbirth of socialism, and in addition to socialist birth-pains, Poland still has to solve all those problems which Western democracies solved in the course of the past centuries.

RECIPROCATION: The concessions made to the Church, however, have been reciprocated: Not only did 11,000 Polish priests pledge their loyalty to People's Poland — although without bestowing ideological approval upon the regime—but Cardinal Wyszynski threw his full weight behind Gomulka during the January elections, and all over the country priests led their flocks to the polling places.

STEPHAN CARDINAL WYSZYNSKI
He supported Gomulka

A **modus vivendi** exists, but to speak of a concordat, as some here and many abroad have done, would be folly. Cardinal Wyszynski's recent trip to Rome has been the subject of much speculation and there has been much talk of the cool reception accorded him by the Vatican. The coolness may have been genuine, since Wyszynski admittedly went further than any other Prince of the Church in reaching a working accord with a communist government; yet it seems hardly likely that his action was taken without the closest contact with Rome.

ALL DOORS OPEN: The apparent coolness may be a tactical stroke on the part of the Church, leaving it free of commitments in any larger sense. Had Wyszynski been received with full honors, the Pope could hardly have refused his alleged request to appoint Polish bishops in the Western territories—since according to the agreement between Wyszynski and Gomulka only Polish citizens of Polish origin may serve as priests in any part of Poland.

However, by conceding this request, the Pope would have recognized the Oder-Neisse frontier and this he refused to do, just as he refused to break off relations with the Polish Government in Exile in London.

These twin refusals have widely been interpreted as a rebuff to Wyszynski but observers here regard this interpretation as mistaken. By not acceding to these political requests, but at the same time, by not reprimanding Wyszynski for his accord with Gomulka, the Vatican has left all doors open. On major policy issues, such as the Polish-German frontier, the Church will take no step which could, even indirectly, disturb its relations with Bonn or Washington; on questions concerning Poland proper, it would appear, Wyszynski has received at least a silent mandate to proceed along the October road.

ONE ADMITS WORKING FOR C.I.A.

American prisoners in China interviewed

Special to the Guardian

PEKING, CHINA

ON SEPT. 7 two teams of young Americans now touring China went to Peking City Prison to visit two Americans imprisoned for espionage. Both had been captured in 1952 when their Air Force plane was shot down over Manchuria. The U.S. Army said they were civilian employes. The Chinese charged they were dropping supplies to U. S. agents inside China.

Richard G. Fecteau of Lynn, Mass., was sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment; John T. Downey of New Britain, Conn., to life. The U.S. teams of five each saw each man for about half an hour. Chinese officials were present. Note-taking was forbidden. Talk could range freely as long as it did not touch on the trial or the crime.

A TOUR OF CHINA: The Americans found Downey in good health and spirits. He shared a 12x15-foot cell with an English-speaking prisoner, spent most of his time reading. He was then in the midst of Sandburg's biography of Lincoln, had gone through much of Lenin. Both he and Fecteau had been taken on a six-week tour of China last year that convinced him of the merits of a "planned economy." He said he had never been an "all-glory-for-free-enterprise boy," was still a "New Dealer," not a communist. He said the U. S. was wrong in regarding the present Chinese government as a passing phase and in supporting Chiang Kai-shek, "the most discredited Chinese in the world today."

The five who visited Fecteau found him looking fit. As in Downey's interview the visitors sat across a table from the prisoner. There were no armed guards. Later the team that saw Fecteau noted down this exchange as nearly as they could recall it. All five certified its accuracy. The interview follows:

Q: *Do you get any news?*

A: I get the Hsinhua [official Chinese news] Agency releases, and *Sports Illustrated* from the U.S. regularly. A girl I know has been writing me from Jackson Hts. [New York]. She was sending me *New Yorkers*, but they haven't been coming lately. The mails are slow, though. My mother cuts out the sports page of the Boston paper and that gets through.

Q: *Is your mail limited?*

A: I can write one letter out a month. I get all the mail that's sent, I think. I get all the mail that my mother sends.

Q: *What do you do every day?*

A: Read—there's nothing else to do. I have a chess set but my roommate doesn't play. We get an hour in the yard every day. It's a small courtyard. I do exercises on my own.

Q: *What do you read?*

A: Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao. I get lots of books. Lots of paperbacks. All kinds, Cervantes, Thomas Mann, Dickens—some foolish books, too.

Q: *Are there any restrictions on what you can get?*

A: Anything non-political. That means I can't get *Time*, or *Life* — things like that.

Q: *Do you do any work such as write or make anything?*

A: No. Just read. All I do is clean out my cell. In solitary they even did that for me.

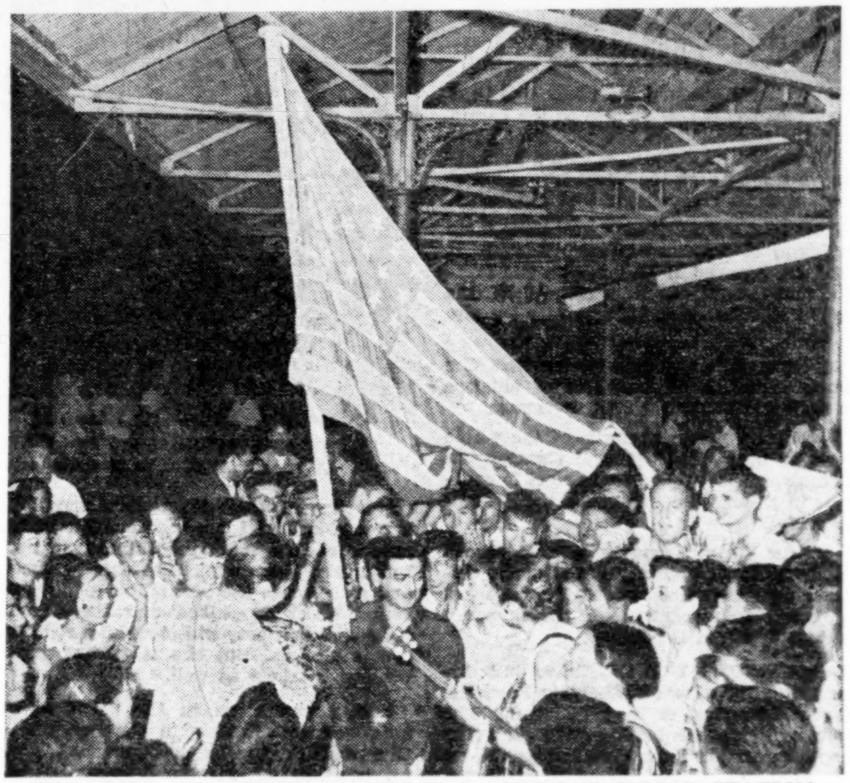
Q: *How long were you in solitary?*

A: Two and a half years, before I was sentenced. That was pretty rough. I had nothing to read and no one to talk to, nothing to do. I got a nervous tic, but that's gone now. I think the general practice is to be rough on prisoners before sentence, and lenient afterwards. My treatment is fine now.

Q: *How's your health been all these years?*

A: I'm all right. Fine.

Q: *Do you get periodic physical examinations?*



THE STARS AND STRIPES RAISED IN A PEKING RAILROAD STATION

The 41 young Americans got a banner reception in China, but the first of their number to return home, Earl R. Williamson, 23, a chemistry teacher of Oakland, Calif., found no bands waiting. Instead, his passport was lifted and he got a subpena to appear before the House Un-American Activities Committee. In New York the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee promised all help possible for the Americans returning from China. It said the State Dept.'s seizure of passports of the students was "in flagrant violation of the ruling of the U.S. courts."

A: We had a physical in January, '55, with the crew from the B-29. They took pictures of us getting the examination, eating and playing volleyball. Didn't you see them? [None of the visitors remembered seeing them.]

Q: *How's the food?*

A: Fine. Now I get bread instead of rice, with meat and vegetables. We get 3 meals a day—better than the other prisoners. The guys in the next cell get only two.

Q: *Do you get any religious counseling?*

A: I'm a Protestant. I have a Bible. My aunt sends me a monhtly religious periodical. Downey and I at one time thought of asking them to take us to a church but we haven't yet. Downey is a Catholic.

Q: *What was your life like back in the States?*

A: I went to high school in California. After that I wanted to see the world and I joined the Merchant Marine. Then I went to Boston University on a football scholarship and majored in physical education. I wanted to be a coach.

Q: *Why did you decide not to coach?*

A: Well you know. There's not enough money in it. I started to work for the government.

Q: *C.I.A.?* [Central Intelligence Agency].

A: Yes.

Q: *What do you look to in the future?*

A: I don't know. I want to go home. I was married when I was captured. My wife died during the two years while I was declared dead by the American government. I have two daughters—twins. I sure would like to see them.

Q: *Do you see Downey?*

A: I saw him this morning for the first time in a year. They brought us together to tell us about this visit. Just after we were sentenced we were together for three weeks with the crew of that B-29 that was also shot down. That was beautiful. Downey and I asked to be cellmates again. They said it would be possible if we behaved well, but it hasn't come through.

Q: *Was Shanghai different than when you'd seen it before?*

A: Oh, yes. Shanghai before was full of beggars and prostitutes. When you landed in Shanghai about 200 kids would follow you with "tomato cans" begging. And if you refused them, they had some beautiful American swearwords for you. If you notice the kids now, they look well taken care of. Their clothes are not from Kennedy's [a Boston store] but they all have clothes. Shanghai makes the Communists look good.

Q: *Has your opinion of China changed?*

A: Oh, yes. I think the people support the government. I have a Chinese cellmate and that's a break. You should speak to this guy. I've learned a lot from him. He got 15 years for espionage. He worked for the Kuomintang. He's about 50 years old and he was wealthy. Two pieces of property, brand new Buick, and he's lost everything now. You'd expect that he'd be sore, but he's very objective about it. You can read things in a book, but it means a lot more to hear it from someone.

Q: *Is there any organized attempt to convert you?*

A: No. There's no pressure—no brainwashing or anything like that. Don't get that idea. It's trying to "reform the mind". They give you books. You can read them if you want to, or not, and you can ask questions if you want to.

Q: *Of whom?*

A: The interpreter. A girl brings the Red Cross packages and we can talk to her. Also I can write a letter to the warden and ask to talk to him.

Q: *We're getting a lot of press coverage. Is there anything you want to say to the press?*

A: No.—(he laughed)—Tell them to get me out of here.

Little Rock story

(Continued from Page 1)

use of the National Guard."

THE PATIENT MAN: Throughout the period that the troops were defying the Federal government, there was no tough talk from either Washington or the President's vacation headquarters at Newport, R.I. In fact, the President granted an audience to the defiant governor, who said at its conclusion: "I have no criticism whatever of the President in this matter; he has shown great patience and understanding in one of the most difficult problems facing this nation."

The President himself had issued reassuring statements: "I am confident that the citizens of Little Rock will vigorously oppose any violence by extremists . . . I am confident that the citizens of the city of Little Rock and the State of Arkansas will welcome this opportunity to demonstrate that in their city and in their state proper orders of a United States court will be executed promptly and without disorder."

Many were convinced that the President's failure to take a firmer stand during that period helped bring on the events of Sept. 23; the N. Y. **Times**, commenting on the President's proclamation, said: "Even the threat [to use force] is a step of gravity, and it might have been prevented if he had taken a firmer position earlier."

PROVOCATIVE STATEMENT: Gov. Faubus, once he was forced to call off the National Guard, promptly left the state for the Southern Governors Conference in Sea Island, Ga. But before he departed, he made a state-wide radio and TV broadcast which seemed calculated to arouse active opposition to integration. He said:

"It is inconceivable to me that the parents of the Negro children who have already been enrolled at Central High School by Superintendent Virgil Blossom would want their children in the school now in the situation that prevails. I hope that the NAACP, who instigated, sponsored and urged this move, will not be so reckless as to push the matter of entering the schools until a cooling off period has elapsed."

From Sea Island the Governor continued his predictions of violence. He remained defiant even after the Presidential proclamation and contended that Eisenhower could not use Federal forces in his state without a request from himself.

FAUBUS CRITICISED: Faubus' presence was embarrassing to some of his more moderate colleagues, especially since the theme of the conference was "Can a Southerner Be Elected President?" Gov. Theodore R. McKeldin of Maryland, a Republican, charged that Faubus "wrote the book, set the stage and directed the play" in Little Rock. He added:

"Even across the miles from Sea Island he gave the cues to his players in screaming headlines predicting violence. If what is happening is vindication of the Governor at this moment, let him make the most of it, for history will write a different version.

"If the forces of Governor Faubus seem to have won another skirmish against eight Negro school children, that too will be but a passing incident in the annals of the times."

NAACP COMMENT: Roy Wilkins, exec. secy. of the NAACP, said: "The violence in Little Rock today was inspired and encouraged by one man—Gov. Faubus."

Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D-N.Y.) suggested on the day of the riot that Congress be reconvened in special session to guard against the spread of violence to other states. Whether this step would be taken no one knew, but the issue was clear: the Federal government was being openly challenged and the challenge had to be met.

Around the world several things would be remembered: among them the picture of a white man, a brick clutched in his fist, kicking an unresisting Negro in the chest as he fell to his knees, and the hysterical scream of a white woman in the mob: "Oh, God, the niggers are in school!"

The labor story

(Continued from Page 1)

posed by three other candidates: Thomas J. Haggerty, secy.-treas. of Milk Wagon Drivers Local 753 in Chicago; Thomas L. Hickey of New York, 6th vice president; and Congressman John Shelley of California, former bakery wagon driver who still pays dues to the union. It seemed likely that these three would combine in a coalition behind a single anti-Hoffa candidate.

In another development, 13 rank-and-file members in the New York area moved for a court injunction to block any election of officers at the coming convention on the ground that up to 80% of the delegates were illegally chosen or hand-picked for a Hoffa victory.

On Sept. 20 Federal Judge F. Dickinson Letts in Washington ordered Hoffa and others to appear in court on a show cause order on Sept. 27, three days before the convention opening. If a restraining order was issued then, it could possibly delay an election indefinitely.

Few would speculate last week on the final outcome, but the **Wall St. Journal** seemed happy at its own prediction that "labor is facing the threat of civil war."

SHORTER WORK WEEK: While the AFL-CIO was desperately trying to disentangle itself from the general charge of corruption, the independent United Electrical Workers was embarked on a program which it hoped "will trigger off a fight in this country for a shorter work week." At its 22nd convention, held in San Francisco, the union adopted a resolution which said:

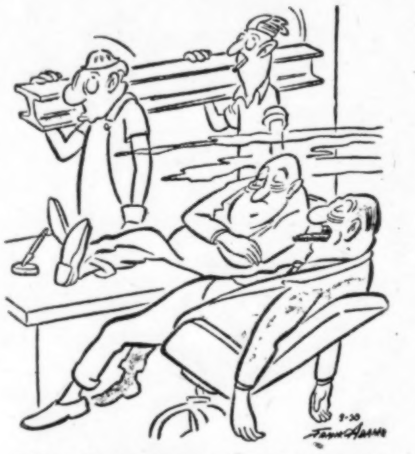
"Working people need a greater take-home pay and a shorter work week to maintain and improve the level of living and to provide job security. A shorter work week with no reduction in pay is the basic method for creating new jobs to meet unemployment arising out of automation and technological changes."

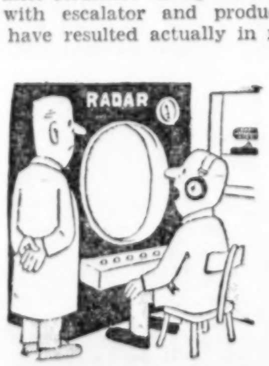
The UE, long battered by government attacks, raids by other unions and some internal division, reported itself as having weathered all the storms with a present membership of nearly 200,000. Present progress was listed not only in new organization, but in the return of many locals which had been led to affiliate with other unions.

GUARANTEED WAGE: The shorter work week has long been advocated by progressive unions but the larger unions have taken no effective action on the issue. The big United Auto Workers at its 1955 convention denounced the proposal as a communist scheme and at that time blocked action on it in favor of the widely-publicized Guaranteed Annual Wage, since known as Supplemental Unemployment Benefits. The UE convention characterized this as a "gimmick" and said of it:

"It should be rejected as a fraud. In those areas where it has been tried it has achieved nothing toward the goal of employment security. It has undercut the efforts of working people to increase unemployment benefits paid by the states. It has undermined the fight for a shorter work week and deprived workers of a 5% wage increase that was due them."

The convention also criticized what it called another "gimmick" of UAW president Walter Reuther: "Long-term agreements with escalator and productivity clauses have resulted actually in reducing the standard of living and in the loss of jobs."


"The shorter hours we'll get from automation will be great! —But what's to happen if the American man grows soft, fat . . . dissipated?"



Carrefour, Paris
"That pay rise is so small it doesn't even show on the radar screen."

GOVERNMENT AGAINST: The UAW at its convention in April this year did adopt as its major goal the shorter work week, but has done little about it since. It left specifics of the demand to be spelled out at a special convention to be held next January prior to spring negotiations with the Big Three in the auto industry. All three companies have made known their violent opposition to the notion of a shorter work week and have rejected a tentative Reuther proposal for joint union-management studies of the question. This month the weight of the government was thrown against the proposal.

WALTER'S GIMMICK: Since then Reuther has concentrated on his offer to trim UAW demands in return for a reduction in car prices as an "anti-inflationary" device. Referring to this, UE president Albert J. Fitzgerald said at his convention: "It is disappointing to see Walter coming up with another gimmick. It is unfortunate he is not using the power of his organization for the only cure there is for unemployment in this country—and that is a shorter work week with no loss in take-home pay." He added that "it is unfortunate that the merged labor movement of this country has not taken a forthright position on this issue."

UE secy-treas. Julius Emspak said of the shorter work week: "The main offender was and is Reuther with his proposals. Three years ago he came out with his supplementary wage proposal . . . It helped nobody but the corporations. It stopped the fight for the shorter work week then."

EXECUTIVE SUITE: Of the AFL-CIO he said: "So far as the leaders of the merged labor movement are concerned, they have not projected a coherent, aggressive, militant rank-and-file collective bargaining policy. They have not and are not fighting on the minimum legislative issues they should be fighting on to buttress and support a decent bargaining policy progress. That bureaucracy lives on the level of the corporation executives and it is unique for the kind of approach it has—the raw, unvarnished, plain collusion that exists between the important leaders of the labor movement and the representatives of monopoly in government and the monopolists themselves."

As for racketeering in the labor movement, the UE suggested a simple 4-point program:

- "Put a ceiling on the salaries and expenses paid to labor leadership. Bring it nearer to the level of the people whom they are supposed to represent.
- "Establish in all union constitutions the control by membership over every aspect of collective bargaining. Take away the basis for collusion and sell-outs by a hand-picked committee.
- "Give the membership control over the administration of the affairs of the union.
- "Grant every worker the right of membership with no strings. Take away the right of arbitrary expulsion that the labor bureaucracy now exercises."

United Nations

(Continued from Page 1)

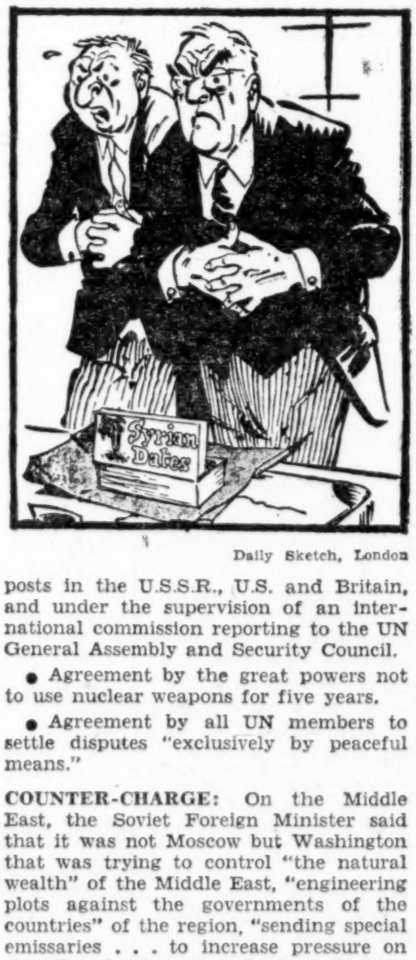
UN action. Now the Soviet Union has turned to the Middle East, which had always been the "center of [its] aspirations" and has supplied arms to Arab nations to incite them into trying to "accomplish extreme nationalistic ambitions."

"We believe," Dulles said, "that these Soviet acts may, perhaps unwittingly, lead the recipients of Soviet arms into acts of direct aggression . . . This is risky business." He specifically accused Moscow of arming Syria and placing Turkey in a pincer position between the Syrian army and the Soviet army to the north.

On disarmament, Dulles merely repeated the package proposal the U.S. had offered at the London disarmament conference, and reaffirmed the U.S. plan to continue experiments to produce a "clean" bomb, to conduct tests "without [any] raising whatsoever of the levels of radioactivity in the world."

3 MOSCOW PROPOSALS: Gromyko devoted most of his speech to disarmament. He said: "We are in favor of prohibiting fully and unconditionally the use and production of atomic and hydrogen weapons." Noting "the high state of mistrust and suspicion in relations between states," and the Western powers' unwillingness "to renounce completely the use of atomic and hydrogen weapons," Gromyko offered three proposals:

- A two-to-three-year suspension of nuclear weapons tests, beginning Jan. 1, 1958, with the establishment of control posts in the U.S.S.R., U.S. and Britain, and under the supervision of an international commission reporting to the UN General Assembly and Security Council.



Daily Sketch, London

- Agreement by the great powers not to use nuclear weapons for five years.
- Agreement by all UN members to settle disputes "exclusively by peaceful means."

COUNTER-CHARGE: On the Middle East, the Soviet Foreign Minister said that it was not Moscow but Washington that was trying to control "the natural wealth" of the Middle East, "engineering plots against the governments of the countries" of the region, "sending special emissaries . . . to increase pressure on Syria" and attempting "to find obedient conspirators against the independence first of one and then of another Arab country."

He said the Soviet Union cannot be "an impassive observer" of military conflicts so close to its borders, and warned that it was a dangerous illusion that a military conflict in the Middle East could be localized. To avoid such dangers, he proposed that the Big Four powers "renounce the use of force [and] interference in the internal affairs of the countries of that area."

ANDREI GROMYKO
The answer was softer

Gromyko asked the UN to recognize China, to call a world economic conference to discuss the economic problems of all countries and to promote world trade, and to broaden the membership of the UN Disarmament Commission to include "countries that are opposed to the 'cold war' policy, pursue a policy of peaceful coexistence and are, naturally, eager to achieve disarmament." He proposed a thorough UN debate on the Middle East.

REACTION AT UN: Reaction to the two speeches varied in the UN. Some remained skeptical of Soviet "sincerity," but few were impressed by Dulles' performance. Many Western delegates seemed confused by Dulles' return to the "tough" policy against Syria. One Westerner thought Moscow had wrested Assembly leadership from Washington.

The neutralist Asian-Africans were obviously pleased by Gromyko's speech. The Arabs, worried that the Middle East was being turned into a battlefield of the cold war, had no kind words for Dulles. (After a visit to Syria, Washington's ally King Saud of Saudi Arabia declared full solidarity with Egypt and Syria.)

SOME TOUGH ISSUES: The UN's Steering Committee, meeting to discuss the agenda for the 12th session, rejected for the eighth time—on the basis of a U.S. resolution—India's request to take up the question of UN recognition of Peking. Indian Defense Minister Krishna Menon served notice that he would ask the Assembly why the Steering Committee had turned down his proposal. This ensured a full Assembly discussion.

Other issues guaranteed to generate plenty of heat were Algeria, racial discrimination in South Africa and freedom for Cyprus and Dutch-controlled West Irian (Dutch Guinea). Other controversial issues were the Draft Intl. Covenant on Human Rights; the Special UN Fund for Economic Development, and the Indo-Pakistan conflict over Kashmir.

However, disarmament and especially the unconditional halt of nuclear weapons tests, will undoubtedly occupy the center of the stage as the Disarmament Commission submits its report on the London conference.

STASSEN HOGTIED: According to Marquis Childs (N.Y. **Post**, 9/9, 9/18), Harold Stassen, U.S. delegate to London, told friends that the conference had failed because he had "to check and recheck and check again with officials back home" before he could "advance another step in the negotiations." He said he had to present U.S. "proposals so complicated and so far-reaching that the other side is almost certain to reject them." One official described Stassen as "a man put out on the firing line in an exposed position with little support from the rear because he was entirely expendable."

Childs also said that U.S. chief UN delegate Henry C. Lodge has privately argued for a "bold stand on disarmament," perhaps even agreeing "to end tests without linking suspension to an agreement to cease production of fissionable material for weapons." But, said Childs, the Atomic Energy Commission's announcement — "without warning to Lodge" — of a new series of weapons tests in the Pacific next April seemed to have served notice that the U.S. "was not prepared to consider any further steps toward an agreement . . . to suspend tests."

the SPECTATOR

Good King Charlie

IN NOVEMBER, 1955, THE GUARDIAN'S Cedric Belfrage visited Charles Chaplin on his estate, Manoir de Ban on the shores of Lake Geneva. Both had been exiled from the U.S. Belfrage was, (and he still is) determined to return to the land he still loves. Chaplin loved it too but was too angry to be tender. He told Belfrage:

"I'm not against materialism but look what the American kind has done. They no longer know how to weep. Compassion and the old neighborliness have gone. People stand by and do nothing when friends and neighbors are attacked, libeled and ruined. . . . The worst thing is what it has done to the children. They are being taught to admire and emulate stool pigeons, to betray and to hate —and all in a sickening atmosphere of religious hypocrisy."

SINCE THEN CHAPLIN has built that one-paragraph critique into a full-length movie, touched with his genius. **A King In New York** opened last week at London's Leicester Square Theater. In it a king flees his European kingdom, exiled partly at least because of his preoccupation with making available to the world the peaceful benefits of atomic energy. Penniless in New York he encounters all the trivial and tragic and wondrous phenomena of the United States: commercial television, rock-and-roll, Madison Avenue, "progressive" education, teen-agers and, most pointedly, the Congressional Inquisition.

Chaplin's 11-year-old son Michael, playing a boy forced by the House Committee on Un-American Activities to be a "friendly witness" in order to save his parents, sums up the pointless, brutal terror of the witch-hunt. Reviewers wrote glowingly of the high-points—as when in a restaurant, where speech is drowned by band music, Chaplin orders caviar and turtle soup in pantomime, or when he jams his finger in the nozzle of a fire hose and is thus prevented from raising his hand to take an oath before the Committee. When firemen turn on the water, the witch-hunters are washed out in unanswerable slapstick.

THERE WERE BRICKBATS as well as bouquets. The **Daily Telegraph** called it "the work of a very bitter man." The **Daily Mail** complained of "clumsy political satire." At a press conference in the Dorchester Hotel Chaplin became for a brief moment the familiar, beguiling, cane-twirling Charlie, then abruptly dismissed that anachronistic ghost, remarking: "The tramp was once a most cultured person but that world doesn't exist anymore." He told reporters:

"There's always the same criticism every time I make a picture. . . . Charlie is getting serious. . . . All life is a controversy. I'm sick and tired of the forthright hero defending the heroine. It doesn't appeal to a man of my age. I'm pushing 70."

To those who called him anti-American he said: "I love America even now. I don't approve of many policies that exist in America. But I think that the people who create these conditions are in the minority. The theme of this picture is the human spirit. When we have men informing on one another, then society cannot endure. My picture is about the human spirit and the policy that desecrates that spirit. I think America will be thankful for it."

Chaplin said he was not a communist but a "non-conformist—a citizen of the world."

Those who assailed the movie admitted bright spots, and those who loved it found dead spots. The **News Chronicle's** Paul Dehn summed up: "But how nice to see a film, however technically flawed, at least saying something instead of having to endure the customary tedium of seeing a technically flawless picture saying nothing whatever. . . . **A King in New York** nails more genuine lies in its 105-minute duration than any 105 pictures I have seen in the past year."

Margaret Hunxman in the **Daily Herald**: ". . . the merry malice aforethought of a born clown . . . punctures every stuffed shirt . . . not by any means his funniest but the least of Chaplin is comparable with the best of almost anybody else. This is genius."

CHAPLIN CANNOT RETURN to the U. S. without a hearing on charges of moral turpitude and communist sympathies, by order of the U.S. Attorney General. Under the pressure of Washington's war with Chaplin, he has embargoed us and so far shows no interest in sending us his films. We are the losers.

The N.Y. **Times** reported that British audiences, unaccustomed to applauding movies, were doing just that at the end of every performance of **A King in New York.** It would be a rare and heartening thing to see Americans stand up and cheer a film which washes out our hammy menaces with the stream of a fire hose. For we are beset by unfunny Keystone cops in high places and we should never have let them send Charlie away.

—**Elmer Bendiner**

•

Cinema 16, a New York film group with offices at 175 Lexington Av., has offered its patrons a chance to see **A King In New York** when it opens in Montreal. No date has yet been set for its release there but the group offer will include plane trip, hotel and theatre for $50.

PATRONIZE GUARDIAN ADVERTISERS

THE CHAPLINS ARRIVE IN LONDON FOR THE PREMIERE OF THE NEW FILM
A beaming Charlie (l.) with son Michael, a new star, and one visible daughter (r.)

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UNITY FORUM

McAvoy Memorial in N.Y. Oct. 13

A RECEPTION for faculty and participants in this fall's program of socialist studies of New York's Socialist Unity Forum will also be a memorial for the late Clifford T. McAvoy, a founder of the Forum and initiator of its study program.

The reception will be held at the Great Northern Hotel at 7 p.m. Sunday, Oct. 13. Author Harvey O'Connor will deliver the memorial address for McAvoy, onetime city official under Mayor LaGuardia and a leader and frequent candidate of the American Labor Party. Faculty members of the study program—five six-week courses beginning Oct. 20 at Adelphi Hall—include Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Dr. Barrows Dunham, Dr. Otto Nathan and writers F. G. Clarke and Kumar Goshal.

The Forum's public discussions this season present Joseph Clark, resigned **Daily Worker** editor, Fri., Sept. 27 on "Where I Stand;" and Herbert Aptheker and F. G. Clarke on "Hungary in Retrospect" on Oct. 6, both at the Great Northern Hotel.

4,000 NAMES FOR GURLEY FLYNN

CP, SWP petitions are filed

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN, veteran Communist leader, last week filed more than 4,000 signatures to petitions for her candidacy for the City Council from the 24th District on New York's Lower East Side. The legal requirement is 3,000 signatures. Miss [illegible] will run on the People's Right Party ticket.

Miss Flynn issued a statement in which she said: "It was a unique and gratifying experience at the age of 67 to be placed on the ballot as a candidate for the City Council by 4,000 signatures of my East Side neighbors, men and women of all shades of political opinion. It is particularly gratifying in that it comes less than four months after my release from a Federal prison where I served three years under the Smith Act.

"I am deeply grateful to all the fair-minded people who signed my nominating petitions. I know that they do not necessarily agree with all my views as a Communist. But we can and do agree, I am sure, on making the East Side a clean, healthy, safe place to live. I hope to make my campaign a modest contribution to the rising movement of labor and the Negro people to lead a great anti-monopoly alliance that will govern this nation in the interests of the people and not the men of the trusts."

A CHALLENGE to Socialist Workers Party signatures filed to nominate Alvin Berman for Brooklyn Borough President was entered at GUARDIAN press time, apparently by forces supporting the Democrat-Liberal incumbent, John Cashmore. The N.Y. city-wide SWP ticket headed by Joyce Cowley for Mayor filed a total of 12,000 signatures, which have not been challenged.

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Loyalty rules tested in suit

A SUIT FILED in Washington, D.C. federal court this month on behalf of John A. Dressler, Milwaukee telephone installation worker, against secy. of Defense Charles E. Wilson is designed to carry to the Supreme Court, if necessary, a test of the application of U.S. loyalty-security regulations to workers in private industry.

Dressler, employed by the Wisconsin Telephone Co. for some 16 years, except for three years in the army, was fired in Feb., 1956, when the Defense Dept. "suspended" clearance for him to have access to classified defense information. Dressler did not seek clearance and had not asked work on defense installations. He was employed installing switchboards in Milwaukee.

A "statement of reasons" for denial of clearance stated that he was a member of the Socialist Workers Party, on the attorney general's list of organizations "having interests in conflict with those of the United States." Dressler asked for and got a hearing in Chicago, where he challenged the application of the loyalty-security program in his case. The hearing board over-ruled him and the Defense Dept. upheld the hearing board. Dressler's suit asks that the ruling be nullified and, pending trial, that the Defense Dept. be enjoined from continuing the adverse ruling in effect.

The suit was filed by attorneys M. Michael Essin of Milwaukee, David Scribner of New York and Joseph Forer and David Rein of Washington, D.C.

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Flattening the flu

WELL - CAMPHORATED and swathed in Kl-n-x, our influenza consultant hove in Friday the Thirteenth with the latest on his favorite topic. After we got him out of the wet Kl-n-xes and into a dry martini, he informed us as follows:

There are four types of the stuff, namely A, B, C and D. This year the A stands for Asian, just as the C in 1957 hurricanes stands for Carrie and the D for Debbie.

Told us a story that's going the rounds, too, about Dulles finishing a fine Cantonese dinner at some Shangri-La restaurant during his travels recently and ordering one of those rice-cake crumpets with a fortune inside.

When he cracked open the crumpet after a sip of tea he found the following fortune message:

"Congratulations, Mr. Secretary. You now have Asian Flu."

We think the story is apocryphal and also the one about the origin of Asian flu. We think (GUARDIAN 9/2 et seq.) that there are better reasons for calling the stuff "fallout flu."

ANYWAY, whatever it is, it gives you chills, fever, headaches, sore throat, cough and aching back, also tired limbs. The virus is transmitted in all the customary ways including, according to our consultant, kissing and the comon drinking cup.

We thought the common drinking cup went out with 23 Skidoo but he says no, watch out for them. As for kissing, he recommends a place just below the ear which isn't apt to transmit virus and anyway is fun if you haven't tried it. Tickles.

The only prevention is the vaccine, and there's argument about that. (GUARDIAN 9/23). There is no cure but rest, keeping warm, eating simple foods and having a doctor keep an eye on the fever.

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New periodicals

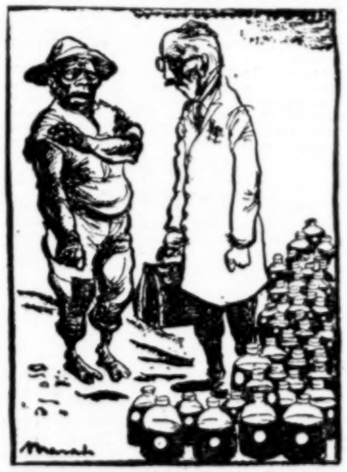
FROM TWO of the most emotion-charged countries of the world have come two periodicals remarkable in their courage, sanity and breadth of viewpoint.

New Outlook,* an English-language monthly started last July "by a group of Jews and Arabs in Israel of varied social background and streams of thought," has undertaken the touchy and delicate task of presenting "a forum by and for those who want to consider how . . . Arab-Jewish and Afro-Asian-Israeli cooperation [can] be built." While it offers no specific solution and is not tied to any organization, the journal has pledged to "consistently advocate" peace between Israel and the Arab states and "the achievement of full equality and opportunity for the Arabs in Israel" and for all Middle Eastern people.

THE FIRST ISSUES (July and August) are exciting reading. The contents include a touching short story about the hesitant and tragic friendship between an Israeli border farmer and an Arab shepherd boy; analytical articles on Egypt, Jordan and Lebanon; an outspoken piece on Israel's Arab minority, in which author Abdul Aziz Zu'bi, secy. of the Arab-Jewish Assn. for Peace and Equality concludes that Israel "must face East . . . pursue a line of neutralism" and look upon the Arabs in Israel as "the natural, firm bridge to understanding with the other peoples of the Area"; and a no-holds-barred debate between an Indian socialist and an Israeli journalist on "Does Israel 'Belong' in Asia" in which the Indian attacks 'political Zionism" and the Israeli claims that Zionism was "one of the first liberation movements of the Asiatic peoples" against Western colonialism.

FROM A LITERARY STANDPOINT the quarterly **Africa South,**** published in the Union of South Africa, is the more ambitious and, so far, the more successful. It was founded during the last quarter of 1956 as "an international forum for study and discussion of the problems of Africa" south of the Sahara. Its purpose is "to stir its readers into an awareness of the agonies and aspirations" of the Africans, to try to "create a Democratic Front of ideas, in which all may share" in the fight for the Africans' rights because, as the editor said in the first issue, "we must realize that we cannot fight tyranny in fragments."

Africa South has tried to take a global view of the problems of Africa, to relate the sorrows and sufferings, the dreams and ambitions of Africans with those of other past and present colonials and oppressed minorities everywhere. Its sponsors' list reads like an International Who's Who of liberal and progressive educators, legislators, writers, ministers and journalists.



Africa South, Capetown
"A plain white, circular label shall be attached to the container of blood of European origin."
"Only tears—no blood?"

Its first four issues have paraded an impressive array of writers. South African novelist Alan Paton, for example, has eloquently discussed the fascist nature of his government and has written a superbly satirical poem on the timidity of the "liberal." Author Basil Davidson has described the plight of the Kenyans, Desmond Buckle has written about Nigeria, Henry Lee Moon has traced the growth of the Negro liberation movement in the U. S., Benjamin E. Mays has commented on desegration in the South.

Sharp cartoons by the London **New Statesman's** Vicky and the St. Louis **Post Dispatch's** Fitzpatrick, among others, have enlivened the pages of the journal. And in a few artfully artless lines poet Langston Hughes has visualized Africa as: Sleepy Giant, /You've been resting a while/Now I see the thunder/And the lightning/In your smile, /Now I see, /The storm clouds /In your waking eyes: /The thunder, /The wonder, /And the young /Surprise. /Your every step reveals /The new stride /In your thighs.

—Kumar Goshal

**NEW OUTLOOK: A Middle East Monthly. 28 Rehov Ahad Ha'am, Tel Aviv, Israel, P. O. B. 11269. New York office: 1 Union Sq., Room 502, New York 3, N.Y., U.S., and Canadian subscription rates: $3.50 a year, single copy 35c.*

***AFRICA SOUTH, a quarterly. 2 Vlam Gebou, Parliament St., Cape Town, South Africa. New York representative: Mrs. S. Pauley, 320 W. 87th St., New York City, N. Y. Subsription rates: $3 a year, single copy 75c.*

Is your food safe?

NEW ORLEANS, LA.

Peace groups could ask the Mayor, Board of Health, Chamber of Commerce, Food and Drug officials, Weather Bureau, military establishment, hospitals, Red Cross, YW, YM, Scouts, Legion, VFW, Women Voters, women's clubs—especially cancer research—what they are doing to certify food, milk and water supplies.

Have they set up geiger stations where food can be brought for testing? If so, where? If not, when and where?

Restaurant and market owners could be approached to cooperate. Newspapers, radio and TV could be pressed to publicize weekly reports on Strontium 90 count of the area.

It is hard to believe authorities would not act. If they should refuse, the group could get its own instrument and begin taking it places—"Listen to it click." A half-sheet bulletin, "How Safe Is Your Food?", would be effective as a throwaway. If people find their food is poison, they'll protest the cause.

The Rogers